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Jean Garnier, Librarian

PART I

The history of libraries, like all other history, tantalizes us by its gaps and inconsequences. We have not enough facts as to what really was the content, the organization, and the use, of earlier libraries; and sometimes we do not grasp the meaning and the interrelations of even the facts we do possess. That is why we must keep trying to clear up a dark corner here and there in that obscure past, upon whose achievements our present libraries are built.

In the United States, interest in the development of libraries and library techniques has been pretty much confined to their very recent history. There are, perhaps, as many librarians who think that library techniques began with Melvil Dewey as there are teachers who think that educational theories began with John Dewey. For those who have a more humane sense of the length and continuity of library history, the work of Jean Garnier as one of the pioneers in modern library classification has value and interest enough to justify this brief monograph about him. Moreover, since Garnier was a Jesuit, the Jesuits and their friends may see an added fitness in recalling his contribution to library techniques in this year which marks the fourth centenary of the founding of the Society of Jesus.

Jean Garnier was born in Paris, on November 11, 1612; entered the Society of Jesus at Rouen, October 15, 1628; went through the usual studies of the Jesuits; taught the humanities for five years, then what was called "rhetoric," which meant primarily literature, but with a considerable inclusion of history and kindred subjects, then philosophy, on which he wrote some textbooks; and finally settled down in 1653, when he was forty-one years old, to the major work of his lifetime, at the Jesuit College of Clermont in Paris.

From 1653 to 1679, except for a stay of some undetermined time at Bourges, Garnier taught theology in the College, the kind of theology that is called "positive" as distinguished from the more formal "scholastic" theology.¹ Positive theology is expository, not controversial, concerned with the unfolding of supernatural truths through the scriptures and tradition, historical rather than argumentative in its approach to revealed truths. The humanistic spirit of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries tended to exalt positive theology above scholastic theology.

Whatever be the differences in qualifications between a positive theologian and a scholastic theologian, admittedly a delicate question, it seems to be a fact that, amongst the French Jesuits, the more scholarly men were set to teach positive theology. Garnier, in his own lifetime and since, has ranked high amongst such scholars. They were men who needed a good library; and in the College of Clermont they had a good library. It is also a fact that Garnier had something to do with making that library a good library, because he was its librarian, at least from 1674 to his death in 1681.

When Garnier had been fifty years a Jesuit, and four or more

¹ Nothing like a full biography of Garnier has ever been published. There are a number of brief notices of him, as in Baillet, Sommervogel, *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, Larousse, etc., which seem to be based chiefly upon a sketch by the Jesuit François Oudin for that pretentious and not too reliable work of the Barnabite, Jean Pierre Nicéron (1685-1738), entitled *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Hommes Illustres dans la République des Lettres: avec un Catalogue Raisonné de leurs Ouvrages*, published in forty-three volumes, Paris, 1727-1740. Thirty-nine volumes had appeared by 1738, when Nicéron died, but he had gathered the material for the fortieth volume, in which is the notice about Garnier, pp. 166-179. Oudin had written seven articles on Jesuits, appearing in volumes 34-40, and with Jean Baptiste Michault and the Abbe Goujet edited volumes 41-43 of the *Mémoires*, after Nicéron's death. Oudin's article is the source of some confusion about dates in Garnier's life. Oudin, a Burgundian, born at Vignory, Haute-Marne, in 1673, became a Jesuit ten years after Garnier had died; he lived, not in Paris, but in Lorraine and Burgundy, and died at Dijon in 1752. He wrote his sketch of Garnier nearly sixty years after Garnier's death. He is the authority for the statement, repeated by others after him, that Garnier taught theology in the College of Clermont for twenty-six years, that is, from 1653 to 1679; *Mémoires*, 40:166. He evidently did not know of Garnier's living at Bourges for part of that time, possibly for as long as four or five years. C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus*, 3:1228, 5, and 1231-1232, indicates that Garnier published a book at Bourges in 1655, *Regulae Fidei Catholicae de Gratia Dei per Jesum Christum*, and that he was censured by the Archbishop of Bourges, de Ventadour, in 1659, for some of his views on the ecclesiastical rights over property, expressed by him as "Professeur des cas de conscience en la même ville." This ignorance on the part of Oudin tends to lessen one's confidence in his accuracy about the date at which Garnier became librarian of the College of Clermont, as will be mentioned later.

years librarian in the College of Clermont, he published, in 1678, a little book about the library, entitled *Systema Bibliothecae Collegii Parisiensis Societatis Jesu*. It is a quarto of 118 pages, nicely printed by Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy.² It has seven parts: the first part, pages 3 to 14, a summary account of the library, its history, housing, and organization; the other six parts, what he calls "Catalogues" of the library, really the outlines of his scheme of classification.

The historical account is meagre, just barely referring to events that may have been clear enough to his immediate readers, but that now need a somewhat ampler mention. As a background for Garnier's task in classifying the books in the library, we must enlarge a trifle upon his account of the College and its library. This will make up most of the first section of the present monograph. The second section will deal directly with Garnier's classification.

THE COLLEGE OF CLERMONT

The College of Clermont took its origin and its title from the gift made to the Jesuits of Paris by Guillaume Duprat, Bishop of Clermont, who had been appointed Bishop of Clermont in 1529, when he was only twenty-two years old.³ He was a good bishop, looked after his diocese, and took a leading part in the last session of the Council of Trent. As soon as the Jesuits began to work in France, Duprat became one of their patrons, defended them against the opposition of the Sorbonne and the *Parlements*, put them in charge of colleges in his own diocese, at Billom and Mauriac, and in 1550 turned over to them his residence in Paris, the Hôtel de Clermont.⁴

² The *Systema* has been twice reprinted: in Joannis Davidis Koeleri, *Sylloge Aliquot Scriptorum de bene Ordinanda et Ornanda Bibliotheca*, Francofurti, 1728; and in *Serapeum*, XI (1850), *Intelligenzbl.*, 105-110, 113, 121-126, 129-133, 137, 140.

³ His father, Antoine Duprat, had once been the prime minister of Francis I; then, as a widower had been ordained priest in 1517, and later became Archbishop of Sens. In 1527, he was made a cardinal, and in 1530, Legate a Latere of the Medici Pope, Clement VII.

⁴ There seems to be only one formal history of the College of Clermont: *Histoire du Collège Louis-le-Grand, ancien Collège des Jésuites à Paris, depuis sa Fondation jusqu'en 1830*, par G. Emond, Censeur émérité des Études au Collège Louis-le-Grand, Durand, Loisel, Paris, 1845. J. M. Prat, S. J., *Maldonat et l'Université de Paris*, Paris, 1856, 77, note 1, expresses a poor opinion of Emond's history. But of unpublished MSS about the College there is a great store. Pierre Biliard, S. J., in vol. XI, *Histoire' of Sommervogel's Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus*, fills thirty columns (921-951) with a check-list of items dealing with the history of the College, chiefly unpublished MSS, of which the greater number are in the Bibliothèque Nationale. For excerpts from the will of Bishop Duprat, see

The Jesuits in Paris were so closely associated in the minds of the people with this house that for a long time they were known simply as "the Clerics of the Hôtel Clermont." They used it at first as a residence for their own students; and only in 1564 began public classes.⁵ They began in the face of severe opposition. The *Parlement* of Paris and the University, with the famous Étienne Pasquier leading the plea, brought suit to enjoin them from teaching.⁶ An indecisive settlement of April 5, 1565, allowed the Jesuits to go ahead with their College, which then enjoyed a steady and strong growth for thirty years, in spite of the troublous times.

The College seems to have kept clear of the intrigues that surrounded the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572; but it was not so fortunate during the long controversies about the succession of Henry IV. When, in 1584, the young King of Navarre, a Huguenot, became heir-presumptive to the throne of France, many of the Jesuits made themselves noted amongst his opponents, out of loyalty to Pope Sixtus V, who excommunicated Henry and theoretically deposed him as King of Navarre, rather than out of hostility to Henry himself. But the opposition to Henry, ostensibly religious in its motives, was not stilled by his conversion to Catholicism in 1593. More than a year later, December 27, 1594, Jean Chastel, who had been a student in the College of Clermont, but who was then a law student in the University of Paris, tried to assassinate the King. Several of the Jesuits were accused of inciting Chastel, particularly François Gueret and Jean Guignard. The latter, who was librarian of the College, was

C. E. Du Boulay, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, 6 vols., Paris, 1665-1673, VI, 576. For the two Duprats, see J. Duprat, *Vie d'Antoine Duprat*, Paris, 1857.

⁵ The original Hôtel de Clermont, in the Rue de la Harpe, provided quarters for twelve young Jesuits, who were studying at the Sorbonne, and for six secular students. For the maintenance of all these, Bishop Duprat set up an endowment, Prat, *Maldonat et l'Université de Paris*, 25 sqq., 624. In 1562, the Jesuits, with some of the funds willed them by Duprat, who had died in 1560, bought the former hôtel of Bishop de Latour of Langres, in the Rue Saint-Jacques, Emond, *Histoire du Collège*, 10. This building became the nucleus of their main college buildings.

⁶ One of the important sources of contention was the Jesuits' refusal to charge tuition fees. See Du Boulay, *Hist. Univ. Paris.*, VI, 916. It was the policy of the Society from the beginning to secure an endowment for their colleges as a condition of opening a college, and not to depend upon tuition fees. Even when, as was most frequently the case, the endowment was inadequate, they eked out by begging, not by exacting fees. This policy has been changed only in recent times. For the almost continual opposition of the University and the *Parlement* of Paris to the Jesuits, see Prat, *Maldonat*, 27, 44, 82-102, 103-144 (Pasquier's attack), 190-200, 349-410, 433-438, 467-470; although these accounts cover only the period 1550-1580.

found in possession of subversive writings, was tried and found guilty of *lèse majesté*, and was hanged, January 7, 1595. Guignard was probably the only Jesuit librarian ever hanged for his crimes; the rest of them get off with lighter sentences.⁷

The College of Clermont was closed, and the Jesuits were exiled. But it was Henry IV himself who recalled them nine years later, and who showed them many favors, and even founded for them the College of La Flèche. Once more the College of Clermont began to thrive.⁸ Within ten years after it reopened its classes, the College had about 1,800 students. Fifty years later, when Garnier published his book on the College library, there were 3,000 students, of whom 550 were boarders.⁹ After 1683, the name of the College was changed to that of Louis-le-Grand, and was so known when Voltaire was a student there.¹⁰ The College continued in the hands of the Jesuits until their suppression in France in 1762, when in a fumbling way it was turned over to the sadly diminished University of Paris.¹¹ After the restoration of the Jesuits in 1814, they again had charge of the College for a time, although with very uncertain tenure and control; but naturally lost it when the Government expelled them in 1880. A few years later, the original buildings of the College were razed to the ground, and a new *lycée* built upon the site.¹²

⁷ For the affair of Guignard, see the account by Joseph de Jouvancy, a contemporary Jesuit, in *Historiae Societatis Jesu Pars Quinta*, Rome, 1710, 40-81. See also J. M. Prat, S. J., *Recherches Historiques et Critiques sur la Compagnie de Jésus en France au Temps du P. Cotton, 1564-1626*, 5 vols., Lyons, 1876-1878, I, 183-193; and V, 51-68 (the "Rélation du P. de Mena," written at Bordeaux, 1603).

⁸ Although Henry IV gave back the College buildings to the Jesuits, April 29, 1604, and even wished to put the Jesuits in charge of the King's Library, which had been housed in the College since the exile of the Jesuits in 1595, the opposition of the University at first, and later the turmoil caused by the assassination of Henry in 1610, kept the Jesuits from being able to resume classes in the College until February 20, 1618, under the special favor of Louis XIII. See Prat, *Recherches Historiques*, II, 339-345; III, 319-332, 772-785.

⁹ Thomas Hughes, S. J., *Loyola*, New York, 1892, 72.

¹⁰ Louis XIV (le Grand), about 1677, gave the College the income of an abbey, amounting to 9,000 or 10,000 livres a year. Shortly after, he gave 53,000 livres for the purchase of a building which the College badly needed. He claimed the title of Founder, and ordered the inscription to be put over the main door "*Collegium Ludovici Magni*." See the letter of Père de la Chaise, January 6, 1683, in Prat, *Maldonat*, 624-625. For Voltaire's account of his seven years at the College of Clermont (1704-1711, from his tenth to his seventeenth year), see his *Oeuvres* (édition Garnier), vol. 33, 1-9.

¹¹ Alfred Franklin, "La Bibliothèque du Collège Louis-le-Grand," in *Techener's Bulletin du Bibliophile et du Bibliothécaire*, Paris, 1865, vol. 31, 389.

¹² For an account of the expulsion of the Jesuits from France and the destruction of their Collège Louis-le-Grand, see Joseph Burnichon, S. J., *La Compagnie en France: Histoire d'un Siècle, 1814-1914* (Only four vol-

THE LIBRARY, ITS BENEFACTORS, LIBRARIANS

At the time of the first suppression of the College of Clermont, in 1595, the College library, housed in five rooms, numbered nearly twenty thousand volumes, and counted as a precious part of its book collection the famous library of Guillaume Budé, which had been given to the College in 1571 by Pierre de Saint André de Montbron.¹³ When the Jesuits were exiled, the College library was in part destroyed, in part scattered.¹⁴ But after their restoration in 1604, the Jesuits began again to build up their library. By the year in which Garnier wrote his account, the library had more than 32,000 volumes, made up very considerably of gifts.¹⁵

Garnier presents a brief list of the benefactors of the library during that second period. At the head of the list come the two kings, Louis XIII and Louis XIV. Cardinal François Joyeuse donated all his manuscript codices.¹⁶ In 1624, Charles Lallemant, the public prosecutor, who had three sons Jesuits and a Jesuit nephew, Gabriel Lallemant, now canonized as one of the North American Martyrs, left his entire library by will to the College. Dom Philippe Desportes, Abbot of Thiron, gave his theological library.¹⁷ The mother of the Jesuit, François Dies, gave a large

umes published, covering the period 1814-1880.), Beauchesne, Paris, 1914-1922, II, 151; IV, 620-667.

¹³ Louis Jacob, *Traité des plus belles Bibliothèques du Monde, etc.*, 2 vols. (with pagination continuous through both), Paris, 1644, II, 522-523. Jacob also recounts another large gift, the library of Hierosme de Varade, a noted physician, whose son (Claude) was rector of the College, *Ibid.*, 522. See also A. Franklin, "La Bibliothèque," *loc. cit.*, 375.

¹⁴ For the looting of the College, and particularly of the library, see Prat, *Recherches Historiques . . . au Temps du P. Coton*, I, 190 sqq.

¹⁵ Garnier crowds his sketch of the library, its benefactors and librarians, into pages 4-6 of his *Systema Bibliothecae, etc.* But others have written more at length about the library. Shortly after Fouquet's gift of a new library building, Claude Fleury, a Parisian lawyer, published a poem, *Bibliotheca Claromontana Patrum Societatis Jesu Carmine Descripta*, a quarto of 14 pages, Martin, Paris, 1661. Alfred Franklin, the bibliographer, wrote "La Bibliothèque du Collège Louis-le-Grand" in *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 374-393. Emile Chatelain and Albert Maire published another account of the library in *Revue des Bibliothèques* (1891), I, 318-336. Edward Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries; of Museums; and of Archives*, 2d ed., London, 1901, I, 84-90, has some data not included in those above.

¹⁶ Joyeuse, born in 1562, was made Bishop of Narbonne and Cardinal at the age of twenty, later on Bishop of Toulouse, and in 1605 Archbishop of Rouen. He died in 1615. Louis Jacob, *Traité*, 523-524, says that Joyeuse had bought three libraries, one of which belonged to the scholarly Pierre Pithou. At his death he left the entire collection to be divided between the Jesuits of Pontoise and the College of Clermont.

¹⁷ Desportes (1545-1606), a priest, and a poet of note, was given three abbeys in commendam by Henry III, one of which was Thiron. He was for a time opposed to Henry IV, but later became his protégé. For his gift to the library, see Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, I, 86.

and valuable collection of works on history; and the two Sebastian Cramoisy gave their own publications and many other books. But the greatest single benefactor was the famous Nicolas Fouquet.

Fouquet, vicomte of Melun and Vaux, marquis of Belle-Isle, who was born in 1615, was first the favorite, then the rival, of Mazarin; and from 1653 to 1661 was the powerful Superintendent of Finances. When Mazarin died in 1661, Louis XIV named himself as prime minister, set about destroying Fouquet, whose ambition he feared, and appointed Colbert in his place. Fouquet was arrested in September 1661, kept in prison without trial for more than three years, then sentenced to exile. But Louis increased the sentence to life imprisonment of a most severe kind, which was enforced until Fouquet's death in 1680. At some time during the height of his power, probably about 1655 or 1656, Fouquet, who was very wealthy (through his marriage to Marie Fourché of Quéhillac, his first wife, and perhaps through his speculations), gave many books to the library, added a new library building, and set up an endowment of a thousand livres a year.¹⁸

Next in importance to Fouquet amongst the benefactors of the library, Garnier names the Jesuit, Jacques Sirmond (1559-1651), who had been secretary to the general superior, Claude Aquaviva, for eighteen years, and had profited by his position to visit many libraries and collect books. He returned to France in 1608, and settled into a life of study and writing at the College of Clermont. In 1637, he became confessor to Louis XIII, and

¹⁸ Philippe Labbé, S. J., dedicated to Fouquet his *Nova Bibliotheca Manuscriptorum Librorum*, 2 vols., fol., Paris, 1657, and in the dedicatory letter thanks him for his gifts to the library. But because Fouquet's fall came so soon after his gifts, it was dangerous for the Jesuits to publish any account or acknowledgment of his benefactions to them. Louis XIV was their friend; but he was a very jealous friend. Hence most of the references to Fouquet in the contemporary writings of the Jesuits are buried in domestic archives. Edwards, however, comments favorably, if somewhat patronizingly, on the prominence with which the Jesuits displayed in their library this inscription: "L'illustre Fouquet a élevé cette Bibliothèque, et l'a Doté avec Magnificence" *Memoirs of Libraries*, I, 86. A good account of his life is A. Cheruel, *Mémoires sur la Vie Publique et Privée de Fouquet*, 2 vols., Paris, 1864. Attempts have been made to identify Fouquet with "The Man in the Iron Mask," especially by Paul L. Jacob, *Histoire de l'Homme au Masque de Fer*; but the only connection between the two is that the mysterious prisoner in the mask served as Fouquet's valet for a while in the prison of Pignerolo. See *Recherches historiques et critiques sur l'Homme au Masque de Fer*, par Citoyen Roux (Fazillac), Valade, Paris, an. IX; and Arthur Stapleton Barnes, *The Man of the Mask*, London, 1912. The latter concludes that the Man of the Mask was the Abbé Pregnanl, probably a Jesuit, whose crime was to have learned too much about political secrets.

was instrumental in turning the king's favor toward the College. He died in the College at the age of ninety-two.¹⁹

Garnier ends his first chapter with a brief mention of the Jesuits who had been librarians of the College of Clermont during the seventy-five years since its restoration by Henry IV. The first of these librarians, Fronton du Duc (1558-1624), lived in the College from the time when it was given back to the Jesuits, and after the resumption of classes in 1618, continued on as librarian until 1623. When Isaac Casaubon, the eminent Huguenot scholar, urged Henry IV to publish the manuscripts of the Royal Library, then housed in the College of Clermont, Fronton du Duc was assigned the task of editing the Greek Fathers of the Church.

¹⁹ Jacob, *Traité*, 525-526, recounts the manner of one of Father Sirmond's benefactions. An unnamed priest of Lorraine had gathered a library of "good and ancient Greek and Latin manuscripts," which was unappreciative heirs were going to sell to a bookbinder as material for covers. "But God disposed otherwise of these MSS, for the very learned Father Jacques Sirmond, chancing then to pass through Lorraine, was advised of this threat to the Muses, and warded off the danger by hastening to the bookbinder and buying the MSS for fifty *écus*. Then he had them put on a cart and taken to Paris, where they are kept in a little room at the back of the library." The gift of books mentioned by Edwards, *Memoirs*, I, 87, as donated by Achilles de Harlay, came much later, in 1717. See Franklin, *loc. cit.*, 385; and for the row about the books at the dispersion of the library, 390.

It may be of interest to note the ultimate fate of the library. After the Jesuits were expelled from France in 1762, the library was put up for public sale, beginning March 19, 1764, and two catalogues were published in preparation for the sale: *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque des ci-devant soi-disans Jésuites du Collège de Clermont, Dont la vente commencera le lundi 19 Mars 1764, A Paris au Palais, chez Saugrain et Leclerc*, 1764, y compris la table des auteurs. (6752 nos.); and *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Codicum collegii Claromontani, quem excipit Catalogus MSSum Domus professae Parisiensis*, Parisiis in Palatio, Apud Saugrain et Leclerc, 1764, 350 pp.

In the catalogue of books, 6752 authors are listed. Since a number of the authors were represented by several works, and since many of the works ran to several volumes, it is safe to estimate that the 6752 authors stand for at least 35,000 volumes. Moreover, in the two years that had elapsed between the expulsion of the Jesuits and the sale of the library, a good deal of looting had taken place. See Franklin, *loc. cit.*, 389-392. For detailed evidence of thefts by politicians on a like occasion, see Victor Van Tricht, S. J., "Du Sort des Bibliothèques de la Compagnie dans les Pays-Bas," in *La Bibliothèque des Écrivains de la C. de J. et le P. Augustin de Backer*, Louvain, 1876, 243-257. Franklin estimated that the library had about 50,000 books and about 600 MSS, shortly before the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1762, *loc. cit.*, 386. What were left of the books after the looting were in part sold, in part fused with the library of the University of Paris, now housed in the College buildings. Edwards says that the combined libraries were made a sort of public library in 1770, *Memoirs*, I, 89. A large part of the MSS collection of the library is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. See especially MSS Phillips, p. 50; and Cat. Ashburnham-Barrois, p. 49. Some of the MSS were in the Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, 265 sqq., 1458, 1631.

Sommervogel lists thirty-nine published works of his, and eight unfinished projects.²⁰

The second librarian was Denis Petau (1583-1652). He too had been a co-worker with Casaubon, who got him to edit the works of Synesius in 1602, when Petau was only nineteen years old. He became a Jesuit in 1605, and taught rhetoric in the Jesuit colleges of Rheims and La Flèche. When the College of Clermont again began classes in 1618, Petau taught rhetoric there for three years, then positive theology from 1621 to 1644, when illness forced him to give up teaching. He succeeded Fronton du Duc as librarian in 1623, and apparently continued in office up to his death on December 11, 1652. He was a poet as well as a scholar, more renowned and prolific than even his master, Fronton. Sommervogel credits him with sixty-two published works.²¹

Two other Jesuits were librarians of the College between Petau and Jean Garnier: they were Philippe Briet (1601-1668), and Gabriel Cossart (1615-1674). Briet was geographer, chronologist, poet, historian, anthologist, a versatile fellow.²² Cossart taught rhetoric in the College of Clermont for many years, wrote elegant Latin verses, was the college orator for formal occasions, and collaborated with the Jesuit, Philippe Labbé, in his *Concilia*. Sommervogel records thirty-two publications of his, mostly small pieces.²³ His collected speeches and poems, first published posthumously by Cramoisy in 1675, were in demand enough to call for two other editions, in 1690, and in 1723. He founded in the Faubourg St. Jacques, a hostel for poor students, who were popularly dubbed "Cossartins."²⁴

Briet and Cossart, according to Garnier, functioned as librarians "*conjunctim*," without any indication of the length of their terms of office.²⁵ Counting these two as the third and fourth

²⁰ *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus*, III, 233-249.

²¹ *Ibid.*, VI, 588-616.

²² For Briet's writings, *ibid.*, II, 156-161.

²³ *Ibid.*, II, 1495-1501. Cossart's writings were mostly small literary flourishes. But his work on Labbé's *Concilia* was a substantial job. After the death of Labbé in 1667, Cossart completed volumes IX and X of the collection, edited volume XI by himself, and furnished the *Apparatus* for the entire work, a rather formidable piece of bibliography.

²⁴ *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, 12:44.

²⁵ The only date given affecting the question is that offered by François Oudin, S. J., in Nicéron's *Mémoires*. He says that Garnier became librarian in 1674, that is, at the death of Cossart. Briet had then been dead six years, Nicéron, *Mémoires*, vol. 40, 175. Oudin cites no authority of a province catalogue of the Jesuits, or the like, for his fixing the date at 1674. Indeed, the annual catalogues of the Jesuit provinces in those times did not uniformly specify the employment of the men assigned to the different colleges. One may suspect that Oudin simply took the death of Cossart in

librarians, Garnier says no more about himself than this: "The fifth, F. Jean Garnier, the author of this System."

Garnier, who seems to have been a doctor of theology of the University of Louvain,²⁶ was a member of the faculty of the College of Clermont for, perhaps, twenty or twenty-five years before he became librarian. He published there, in 1648, a preliminary study in his great work on the Pelagian heresy,²⁷ then in 1650 and 1651 two sets of theses which he had taught "nobilibus adolescentibus in Collegio Claromontano Societatis Jesu," and in 1651 a *Compendium Logicae Aristotelicae*. After that came the excusus to Bourges, during which he taught casuistry, and published a treatise on grace. Back at the College of Clermont, he completed his work on the Pelagians in his learned edition of *Marii Mercatoris . . . Opera*, in two folio volumes, published first by Cramoisy in 1673, and since then several times reprinted in various collections. His *Tractatus de Officiis Confesarii*, first published posthumously in Paris, 1688, had five editions up to 1733. Sommervogel reports twelve published works of Garnier, and two unpublished manuscripts.²⁸ Philosopher, theologian, historian, casuist, he keeps up the tradition of versatility in his scholarship. His work as librarian he took in his stride.

It is to be noted that three librarians practically divide the seventy-five years in which the Jesuits again had control of the library: allowing nineteen years for Fronton du Duc, twenty-seven years for Denis Petau, and, if we take Oudin's figures, twenty-two years for Gabriel Cossart. Such long terms of office made possible a thorough programme of library administration. It is also probable, as we shall see later, that these long-term librarians contributed a great deal, at least by way of preparation, to Garnier's work in classifying the library.

Next it must be noted that all of these Jesuit librarians were erudite men, and that in addition to their work as librarians they were actively engaged both in teaching and in writing.²⁹ It

1674 as the close of a term of office which may well have ended years before, when Cossart became active in managing his hostel for poor students and gathering funds for its maintenance. Yet, since Oudin's date is the only one definitely offered by anyone, it would be rash to go beyond it without more positive evidence than we now have. Hence it is accepted here.

²⁶ So Jean Le Clerc (under the pseudonym, "Joannes Phereponus") calls him in the *Appendix Augustiniana*, published as volume XII of the distinctive Amsterdam edition of *S. Augustini Opera*, 1703.

²⁷ *Juliani Eclanensis Episcopi Libellus Fidel, etc.* Parisiis, Sebastianus Mabre-Cramoisy, 1648.

²⁸ *Bibliothèque*, III, 1228-1232.

²⁹ The Jesuits of the College of Clermont, in spite of their large number of students and what we must estimate as a fairly heavy teaching load,

was in their time unthinkable that anyone but a scholar should be a librarian; and when Garnier published his book on the classification of his library, a book which, quite beyond his expectation, was to become one of the foundation works at least for French libraries, he did not even put his name on the title page. For him it was a minor work, in which the reader must look to a single phrase in the text for the name of its author.

THE HOUSING OF THE LIBRARY

In the second chapter of the first part of his book, Garnier describes the way in which the books of the library were housed. His account is inadequate to convey any clear concept of the buildings and arrangements to one not already somewhat familiar with them, and must be supplemented by information drawn from other sources. He begins with this compact statement:

As regards the housing of its books, the Library of the College in Paris of the Society of Jesus is divided thus: the old library, the new library, the attic with its vestibule, and two museums, each with an attic.

These narrow quarters, which we have not been able to enlarge, have been utilized to the utmost by filling them completely with book-case piled upon book-case.

Each of the library buildings is eighty-four feet long and twenty feet wide: the attic addition, which could be built only on the new library, is of the same length as the library.

Unfortunately, no drawing or plan of the buildings of the College of Clermont is now available to the writer. We must fall back upon what we know of the common character of the Continental colleges of the Jesuits. The buildings even of the large

were very productive in the field of writing and publishing. Sommervogel, without at all claiming to be exhaustive, lists 545 published works by members of the College faculty between 1618 and 1761, *Bibliothèque*, VI, 219-275. This check list includes works in theology and philosophy, Latin poems, a really large number of dramas (the College was famous for its plays), mathematical treatises, histories, biographies and panegyrics, and a good many editions of the classics. As regards the classics, it is worth recalling that a number of the editions "Ad usum Delphini," published under the general editorship of Pierre Daniel Huet (1630-1721), then one of the tutors of the Dauphin, were the work of Jesuits in the College of Clermont. To mention only a few, Charles de la Rue (1643-1725) edited the *Virgil* in 1675, *ibid.*, VII, 293; Jacques de la Baune (1665-1725) edited the *Panegyrici Veteres* in 1676, *ibid.*, I, 1055; Pierre Joseph Cantel (1645-1684) edited *Justinus* in 1677, and *Valerius Maximus* in 1679, *ibid.*, II, 690; Jean Hardouin (1646-1729) edited *Pliny* in 1685, *ibid.*, IV, 85. John Edwin Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, Cambridge University, 1908, II, 292-293, refers to some of these and cites estimates of the value of their work.

colleges were not separate structures, but were a series of extensions and wings added to an original unit and forming with it one complex whole. For the sake of light and air, the new additions were built to enclose open courts, in which there were usually gardens. There are evidences that the College of Clermont conformed to this general plan.

Thus, Alfred Franklin, writing twenty years before the old buildings of the College were destroyed, says that the library was located "in the second court" of the group of buildings on the Rue St. Jacques, overlooking the garden, and consisted of two long galleries.³⁰ Note Garnier's statement that the "old library" and the "new library" were of exactly the same length and width. That indicates that they were limited by the space between two other wings or by the dimensions of the structures upon which they were superimposed.

Clark has a very good photograph and a sketch plan of a Jesuit library at Rheims, built in the very year in which Garnier wrote his *Systema Bibliothecae*, and oddly enough of about the same floor dimensions as those of the old and new libraries in the College of Clermont. The Rheims library is an attic structure, built above an older building, with dormer windows, the slope of the new roof concealed by an ornate carved ceiling. The bookcases are built only against the walls, set out at a distance of five feet because of the steep slant of the roof, and carried back into the dormers.³¹ Clark describes also a number of other similar libraries, notably the library of the Abbey of St. Germain des Prés, and the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, at Paris, built in 1675, and therefore contemporary with the Rheims library.³² Only a few of the great national or public libraries were separate buildings; even Mazarin built his library over the stables.³³

The two large libraries of the College of Clermont would be fairly high, say twenty feet or more, whilst the attics would not be more than ten or twelve feet at their highest. The museums, for which Garnier offers no indication of size, were quite small rooms adjoining the long galleries, almost as alcoves. In fact,

³⁰ Franklin, "La Bibliothèque," *loc. cit.*, 386. His statement, that one of the galleries was named in honor of de Harlay, must refer to a period later than 1717, when de Harlay's large gift of books came to the library. Franklin describes in some detail the frescos and ornamentation of the library, which made the galleries handsome rooms in the baroque style.

³¹ John Willis Clark, *The Care of Books*, Cambridge University, 1901, 287-289, figures 132, 133.

³² *Ibid.*, 114, 289, figures 36, 37.

³³ *Ibid.*, 272. This was the library completed in 1647, and later included in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Garnier says that the *pergula*, or attic of the first museum was an *appendix*, or alcove, of the large library.³⁴

We can then roughly visualize the rooms that contained Garnier's library as these: two long, narrow, and high halls, ornately decorated, crowded with bookcases (the upper sections to be reached either by ladders or by a narrow balcony approached by a winding stairs), with only a few tables available to work at; a long, narrow, and low attic, again crowded with bookcases; two adjoining rooms, not much more than storage closets, which housed the manuscripts, a collection of coins and medals,³⁵ and some suppressed books from the library; an attic to each of these small rooms, serving as auxiliary storage space.

In these seven rooms, three fairly large, and four quite small, Garnier describes the shelving of the books:

The folios and quartos are shelved in the two large libraries, the folios on the side facing the garden, the quartos on the opposite side: but in such a way that, as far as possible, the folios and quartos in the same classification are kept just across from each other.

In the attic and its vestibule built on top of the new library are the octavos and smaller books, classed in the same order as the larger books in the two main libraries.

In the first museum are kept the manuscript codices, together with a collection of coins and medals and some ancient and foreign curios.

In the second museum are the prohibited books, works of heresy and impiety.

In the attic of the first museum, which forms an alcove to the large library, are stored some books for which there is no room in the large library.

In the attic of the second museum are all the books that offend good morals, especially those written out of hatred of religious orders.

It will be noted that the shelving of books according to their size is a matter of economy of space, not a basis of classification. The practice is quite common even today of shelving folios apart, in order not to waste shelf room.

As we shall see, Garnier's classification called for only four

³⁴ Franklin describes the "museum" which contained the prohibited books as a narrow closet, "*étroit cabinet*," scarcely lighted by one small window fitted with iron bars, *loc. cit.*, 387. And from Father Louis Jacob, *Traité des plus belles Bibliothèques*, II, 525-526, we learn that the other little room in which the MSS were kept was "*au fond de leur bibliothèque*." Franklin puts it "toward the middle of the first gallery, on the right hand side" *Ibid.*, 387.

³⁵ Franklin gives an account of this numismatic collection, which had been begun by Father Sirmond, *loc. cit.*, 387-388.

great divisions. These are already indicated in the next passage about the housing of the library:

The old library houses the books on Theology and Philosophy, divided into nineteen classes, with an alphabetic notation.³⁶ . . . The new library houses books on History and Jurisprudence, divided into thirty-one classes, for twenty-five of which the notation is a doubled Latin alphabet, and for the other six the Greek alphabet.³⁷ . . . The books in the attic over the new library (octavos and smaller) are divided into fifty classes corresponding to the classification in the old and new libraries and having the same alphabetic notations. . . .³⁸

In the first museum, besides the collection of classified coins there are five groups of manuscripts: Greek MSS, Latin MSS, foreign language MSS, unpublished MSS of Jesuits, other unpublished MSS.

In the second museum, the books of heretics and infidels are arranged in eight groups.³⁹

No notation is indicated for the manuscripts and for the books in the two museum. Possibly none was considered necessary for so small a number of items.

³⁶ Here follow the detailed heads of the classes: twelve, A-M, for theology; the remaining seven, N-T, for philosophy, mathematics, medicine, languages, oratory, poetry, and literary criticism, *Systema*, 7, 8.

³⁷ These again are enumerated here: Geography as "Aa," Chronology as "Bb"; the next twenty-two for subdivisions of history (J and U are not used; the twenty-fifth notation, for fiction, is ampersand, &); then the first five letters of the Greek alphabet for Church Councils and Papal Documents, Canon Law, Roman Civil Law, French Law, Laws of other countries, International Law. There should be six Greek letters, but the printer left out zeta.

³⁸ Here follows an indication of which books are in the vestibule or ante-chamber of the attic, and which in the attic library itself.

³⁹ The eight groups, Infidels, Lutherans, Zwinglians, French Calvinists, Dutch and German Calvinists, English Protestants, Socinians, and "Modern Sects," are evidently organized apart from the general scheme of classification.

The shelving apart of heretical, impious, and immoral books was a common practice of Jesuit librarians, as a consequence of one interpretation of the first of the Jesuit "Rules of the Librarian" as they existed in Garnier's time. See W. Kane, *Catholic Library Problems*, Chicago, 1939, appendix III, 208.

Edwards expresses a rather naive astonishment over Garnier's making provision for a physical separation of heterodox and immoral books from the rest of the collection, *Memoirs of Libraries*, I, 87. Apparently he was not aware of how many libraries followed the practice of shelving such books apart, either upon ethical principles or out of political expediency. Possibly if Jean Guignard had kept his politically wrong books in the library "Hell," he might not have been hanged. For an account of how, even in sophisticated modern times, the National Library of France continues the practice of relegating some books to a Gehenna, see Guillaume Apollinaire, *L'Enfer de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Icono-Bio-Bibliographie de Tous les Ouvrages Composant cette Célèbre Collection*. Paris, 1913.

THE USE OF THE LIBRARY

About the important question of who used the library, and how it was used, Garnier says nothing directly. The two remaining chapters, III and IV, of the first part of his book present the basic reasoning for his choice of main divisions in classification and for the ordering of the sequences within the divisions. Only at the close, on page 14, does he offer two rules of the library which throw some light on its policy of loans.

First. No one shall lend a printed book to any one outside the College, but shall refer the request for such loan to the Librarian: and even the Librarian must not make such a loan without permission of the Rector and without getting a receipt showing the exact date of the loan and its time limit.

Second. Manuscript codices must not be let out on loan, but must be consulted only in the Library.

There is no novelty in these rules, which are only a paraphrase of rule seven of the Jesuit "Rules of the Librarian." Their significance is that they do imply a definite loan service, even in the restrictions put upon loans. Unquestionably the Jesuit teachers in the College had a very full and free use of the library. The young Jesuit scholastics who were studying in the College had a limited access to the books. Scholars not connected with the College, although still more restricted, yet were allowed to use the library. Edwards says: "Probably, few Libraries in Paris, or in Italy, were more diligently used than was, for a considerable period, the Library of that College of Clermont, which, in 1682 changed the name it had made famous for that of 'College Louis-le-Grand.'"⁴⁰

Did the general run of students in the College, numbering about 3,000 in Garnier's time, have the privilege of borrowing from the library? It is quite certain that they did not. An exceptional student might have some loans of books; but the mass of seventeenth century students had no more use of the library than had the mass of students in our American colleges even well on into the nineteenth century.⁴¹ The students depended upon their textbooks, and still more upon the instruction and training given them by their teachers, for external assistance in their own work of educating themselves.

⁴⁰ *Memoirs of Libraries*, I, 88. See also Franklin, *loc. cit.*, 387.

⁴¹ In this connection it is well to recall the fact that the library of the University of Michigan began a loan service for home reading only in 1906, *Survey of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities*, U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin 9, 1930, I, 612.

Libraries, until only yesterday, were looked upon as the workshop of the scholar; their use for entertainment was very limited; their use as an exercise-ground for the immature was scarcely even thought of. That attitude toward libraries explains why a book collection of 32,000 volumes was considered ample for the College of Clermont.⁴² The contrast between that attitude toward libraries, as part of an educational tradition thousands of years old, and the very modern notion of making the library the center of school education, marks one of the profoundest changes in our approach to the problem of education.

A final observation on the use of the library in the College of Clermont is suggested by Garnier's account of how crowded with bookcases was the entire space of the library. That fact tells us that there was no reading-room in our modern meaning of the word. A few tables and chairs sufficed for the small number of persons who might be consulting the library at any one time. Books were taken from the library to be read in the rooms of the teachers or of the comparatively few resident students who had the privilege of borrowers.

It was for such a library, organized for such services, that Jean Garnier devised his scheme of classification. Hence it has been judged necessary to offer at least this hasty sketch of the library as a prelude to an examination of Garnier's classification, because any practical scheme of classification is meant to function as introducing a definite group of readers to a definite collection of books. It is a mistake not seldom made to discuss schemes of classification as if they existed *in vacuo*.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE "SYSTEMA"

There is one last question that must be asked and answered in this introduction to Garnier's work in classifying the library of the College of Clermont: is Garnier really the author of the scheme of classification? As has been seen, although his name is not printed on the title page of the book, Garnier makes the plain statement that he is the fifth in the new series of librarians,

⁴² It was a large library for those times. For instance, the Royal Library, in 1618, when it was housed in the College of Clermont, had only 10,000 volumes, Franklin, *loc. cit.*, 380, n. 1; the library of the Sorbonne in the eighteenth century, had less than 30,000 volumes, Edwards, I, 81. When Cotton Mather, the Yankee contemporary of Garnier, boasted that he had "a library exceeding any man's in all this land," his total book collection was about 4,000 volumes, H. Lehmann-Haupt, *The Book in America*, New York, 1939, 301.

"hujus Systematis author."⁴³ The only doubt that has ever been raised about his veracity in claiming to have devised the scheme of classification comes from an *on dit* of Adrien Baillet, a contemporary of Garnier. Here is what he says:

Father Garnier, a Jesuit of Paris, has had printed about six years ago, in quarto, the Classification of the Library of the College of Clermont, to which the Jesuits have since given the name *Louisle-Grand*. We have already said a lot of nice things about this work, just above, and we add here that as his method is a very fine one, his Classification can serve as a model for all the world, to set up a good arrangement for the Books of any Library whatever it may be. Some ("quelques-uns") claim that he has done no more than lend his name to the real author of this Scheme.⁴⁴

Oudin airily dismisses this vague attack upon Garnier's authorship of the *Systema* by saying:

This claim has no probability. Throughout the *Systema* one can readily recognize the style and spirit and methodical order of Father Garnier, who, from his assiduous reading of the *Summa* of *S. Thomas*, had acquired the knack of detailed subdivision.⁴⁵

The argument drawn from internal evidence is not a particularly strong one, since Garnier's book is almost as tight and bare a piece of writing as the statement of a mathematical problem. And if reading the *Summa* of St. Thomas is all the equipment needed for skill in classifying books, the theological schools of Europe and America should have produced a multitude of excellent classifiers. A much stronger argument is the simple, direct statement of Garnier himself, a well-known scholar, and by every presumption a truthful and honorable man, that he is the author of the book, and therefore of the scheme of classification contained in the book.

Why, then, did Baillet give public circulation to an attack on

⁴³ *Systema Bibliothecae*, 6.

⁴⁴ *Jugemens des Sçavans sur les principaux Ouvrages des Auteurs*, 9 vols., Paris, 1685-1694, II, 275. Baillet, born in 1649, was ordained priest in 1676 and four years later became librarian to Chrétien François de Lamolignon, the Advocate General, whose library included 1,550 volumes of MSS. The library was later sold in England. Baillet proposed a *Dictionary Catalogue*, and set down excellent rules for making one, nearly two hundred years before Charles Ammi Cutter rediscovered the idea. See his long Latin *Preface*, second part of vol. II, *Jugemens des Sçavans*. He had Jansenist sympathies; and vol. I of his *Vie des Saints* was put on the index. H. Hurter, *Nomenclator Literarius*, Innsbruck, 1893, LL, 887-891. Nicéron, *Mémoires*, III, 25 sqq. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, 206-207; VII, 108b. *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, Paris, 1866, 4:183.

⁴⁵ Nicéron, *Mémoires*, 40:175-176.

Garnier's authorship which was no more than a vague rumor? It is easy to say that envy motivated both the vague rumor and Baillet's publication of it. But envy is not so easily proven; and it is bad morals as well as bad pleading to answer one slander with another. Besides, an envious man would scarcely praise Garnier's *Systema* as generously as Baillet does in these words:

One may bravely stop right here [at Garnier's scheme] without need to go on to study all the boring platitudes which have been wished upon us on this subject by Possevin in his *Bibliothèque Choisie*, Father Blanchot, the Minim, in his *Idée*, the Jesuit Clement in his *Instruction*, J. Bapt. de Cardone in his *Conseil* for the King of Spain, and even M. Naudé himself in his *Avis*.⁴⁶

A possible foundation for the vague doubt that Garnier really devised the scheme of classification is Oudin's statement that Garnier became librarian in 1674, that is, only four years before the *Systema* was published. That might seem too brief an experience to qualify him as the originator of a complete scheme of classification. But even if one discounts the fact that Oudin may have been mistaken about the date, and the probability that Garnier had acted as librarian for many more years, it must be noted that Baillet should be the last man in the world to take that short term of librarianship as an insurmountable obstacle to Garnier's authorship, since he himself had become a librarian only in 1680, and within five years was publishing his own excellent rules for a Dictionary Catalogue and dealing critically with all the cataloguers who had preceded him.

The only very solid ground for the hint or suggestion that the classification was not Garnier's was the fact that he had come into a library, which, even in its second period, had been functioning for seventy years, under scholarly librarians, and had been extensively used by other scholars. It would appear most unlikely that such a library had not been classified before Garnier took charge of it. What was that earlier classification? How much had Fronton du Duc, Petau, Briet, and Cossart contributed to the scheme of classification which Garnier published as his own?

⁴⁶ Two of these writers on libraries were Jesuits: Antonio Possevino (1533-1611), a Mantuan, tutor to the Gonzagas, later Rector of Avignon and Lyon, then Secretary to the General, Everard Mercurian; and Claude Clement (1594-1643), who on the title page of his book calls himself a Burgundian, and who taught and died in Madrid. Possevino's *Bibliotheca Selecta*, Rome, 1593, and Clement's *Musei, sive Bibliothecae . . . Extractio, Instructio, Cura, Usus*, Lyons, 1635, are erudite, but prosy, discussions of books and libraries, not practical helps.

We have no means of giving exact answers to those questions. But we do know some facts about Jesuit libraries that may afford a sort of indirect answer. We know, in the first place, that throughout the seventeenth century, and perhaps earlier, there was a general common possession of a classification of knowledge, based upon the traditional approach of the schools to the humanities, philosophy, history, the sciences, law, medicine, and theology. That common framework of knowledge supports every scheme of library classification devised at the time. Each new scheme was at best only a rearranging of accepted elements, a refining of method in organizing the sequences. That fact was what Gustave Mouravit had in mind when he declared that there is no real "first" in bibliography any more than in literature.⁴⁷

The second fact that we know is this: the libraries in Jesuit colleges, besides being organized within the traditional framework of knowledge, had a special tendency to a fairly common form of classification and cataloguing, both because the colleges all followed a common scheme of studies and a common method of teaching, and because the Jesuits moved about from college to college a good deal, and hence were carriers of library methods in a way likely to promote resemblance between one Jesuit library and another. No common library technique was imposed upon all Jesuit colleges by authority but the college libraries had much in common through the close fellowship of the Jesuits.

Two instances, widely apart, may illustrate this inter-library borrowing of classifications amongst the Jesuit colleges. In 1678, the year in which Garnier published the *Systema*, the Jesuit College of Rheims built a new library, which Clark was able to study and photograph more than two hundred years later, because a lucky chance had kept it intact as the linen-room of a municipal hospital.⁴⁸ Now the Jesuits had been in Rheims since 1549, except for the period of expulsion under Henry IV, 1594 to 1603. The library to be housed in the new building was, therefore, about as old as the library at Paris. On the ornate ceiling, painted within shields over each set of shelves, are the headings

⁴⁷ "Ce n'est ni à Gabriel Martin ni à Prosper Marchand, ni à Garnier, ni à Bouillaud, que revient cet honneur (d'avoir créé un système bibliographique a peu près universellement adopté): l'enfin Malherbe vint n'est pas plus vrai, absolument parlant, en bibliographie qu'en littérature" *Le Livre et la Petite Bibliothèque d'Amateur*, p. 332; quoted by A. Cim, *Le Livre*, IV, 311.

⁴⁸ Clark, *The Care of Books*, 287-289, figs. 132, 133. There is a complete plan of the College, submitted December 13, 1762, by the surveyors, Guillaume Rousseau and Ponce Drouet, M 248, Archives Nationales, Paris.

of the book classification. The headings differ considerably from those in Garnier's book; but they have a family resemblance perceptible at first sight.⁴⁰ It is a resemblance which one could observe in any Jesuit college in Europe, not merely in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but, as the present writer can testify from many libraries he has seen, even into the twentieth century.

The second instance is dated about two hundred and twenty-five years later. In the Jesuit college in Chicago, a dictionary card catalogue of the library, based on the Dewey Decimal Classification, had been begun in 1899. There years later, James O'Meara, a Jesuit who had been educated in Europe, and who was then fifty-seven years old, became librarian. He promptly scrapped the newfangled catalogue, and made a ledger catalogue strikingly similar in general structure to Garnier's, although he had never set eyes on a copy of Garnier's book. He contented himself with eighteen broad headings of classes, and made no attempt at organizing a sequence of subdivision. Under each class he listed the books by authors, alphabetically. His main classes were also arranged alphabetically. The pages of the catalogue were typewritten, with space left for later insertions, and then bound into a book. It was a simple scheme, rather too simple for the 25,000 volumes or so then in the library. It was inspired by nothing more than his general acquaintance with the common features of Jesuit libraries.

Yet, when one has granted the full value of that dependence of each new classifier upon the past, and the special influence of common generic notions of library classification amongst the Jesuits, it is still a matter of justice to give the deviser of each new scheme of classification credit for the skill he uses in his handling of what he has inherited from his predecessors. That is the limit of credit one is asked to give Garnier as the author of the classification he arranged for the library of the College of Clermont. He himself, one may be sure, would make no larger claim than to have shown ingenuity in adapting principles of classification, which had long been a common possession of edu-

⁴⁰ These are the headings as marked on Clark's plan of the library, in the order in which, beginning along one of the narrow sides of the library, they followed around the remaining three sides; *Scriptura et Interpretes* (2 cases), *Patres Graeci*, *Patres Latini*, *Ascetici* (2 cases), *Theologi Scholastici* (2 cases), *Theologi Controversistae*, *Theologi Morales*, *Philosophia Antiqua*, *Philosophia Nova*, *Mathematici*, *Jus Utrumque*, *Oratores Profani*, *Poetae*, *Grammatici*, *Historia Profana* (3 cases), *Philologi* (2 cases), *Oratores Sacri*, *Historia Sacra* (3 cases), *Miscellanei*, Clark, *Care of Books*, figure 133.

cated men. What degree of skill Garnier displayed in his adaptation must be judged by his work itself, which we shall proceed to consider in the second section of this paper.

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(Part II will appear in July.)

Private Schools in St. Louis, 1809-1821

Of schools in St. Louis before the Louisiana Purchase little can now be written. A number of the wealthier persons in the town were educated and some of their sons were sent away to France, Canada, or various places in the United States for their schooling. A quantity of books in private libraries suggests that some, at least, of the people were well read. Nevertheless, concerning formal education in the town, we have little data for the first four decades. Tradition, supported by a few documents, has preserved the names of two teachers: Mme. Rigauche, who conducted a school during the 1790's, and Jean Baptiste Trudeau, who seems to have been the village schoolmaster for the last quarter of the eighteenth century.¹ Of their activities as teachers, however, little is known. An account of the history of schools in St. Louis becomes possible only with the establishment of the first press by Joseph Charless in 1808. From the files of the *Missouri Gazette*, of its successors, and of their rivals some account can be made of the various private schools that flourished or failed between 1808 and 1821.²

¹ For a summary of the state of education in eighteenth century St. Louis see J. F. McDermott, *Private Libraries in Creole Saint Louis*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1938, 12-16. This is a subject I hope to present in greater detail at a future time.

² Some idea of books used in these schools may be gleaned from various advertisements in the local press. *The Missouri Gazette*, July 26, 1808, advertised that "A Variety of School books were for sale, at this Office." Aaron Elliot and Son, druggists, offered "Children's spelling books, first and second part" at this time, *ibid.*, August 31, September 7, September 14, 1808. The firm of Hunt and Hankinson offered "Webster's Spelling Books" in the *Gazette* of February 22, 1809. Simpson and Quarles, along with their stock of "fresh drugs and medicines," carried "a handsome selection of school books," *ibid.*, June 29, 1816. Dr. Arthur Nelson, in his drug store, had school books, *ibid.*, May 29, 1818; P. M. Billon also handled such books, *ibid.*, May 15, 1818. Add to these Tuttle and Teller, *ibid.*, January 8, 1819, Gilhully and Cummins who offered both French and English schoolbooks, *ibid.*, March 29, 1820, and J. J. Smith & Co., *ibid.*, October 10, 1821. Among a lot of books offered at private sale by Thomas Riddick, *ibid.*, April 5, 1820, are mentioned: Latin, French-English, and Greek dictionaries, *Tele-machus*, a French grammar, and something called *Youth's Scientific Library* in 6 volumes. The advertisement of Essex and Hough, *ibid.*, February 21, 1821, is more specific than most; here we find mentioned "A variety of schoolbooks" which includes "Mathematics, Philosophy, natural & moral, Geographies, Arithmetics, Dictionaries . . . Murray's Grammars, exercise and key, English readers, Introduction & sequel, Webster's Spelling Books." William Savage announced in the *St. Louis Enquirer*, August 15, 1821, that he intended to auction off a lot of books which included "Walker's Dictionary, French & English ditto, Meyer [?] Mythology, 3 vols., Aikin's Geography, Homer's Works, 3 vols., Spanish Grammar, French exercises, Horace, 2 vols."

The first school of record is that advertised in the *Missouri Gazette* of January 11, 1809. Christopher Friedrich Schewe, "formerly Professor in the Lycee Academy at Paris, lately minister of the Gospel at Pittsburg," proposed to establish a "French & English Grammar School." By his method pupils could be taught to speak either language "with fluency and ease" in one-sixth of the time ordinarily required. If requested, he would also teach arithmetic, geography, geometry, and other branches of mathematics, and drawing both free-hand and architectural. He planned also an evening school for adults. Three weeks later a notice in both languages announced the opening of the school for February 6. He must have had some success, for almost a year later he advertised that he would continue to give lessons in French; but it is clear that he was not too prosperous, for he wanted to sell for cash a quantity of candles. For a decade Schewe's notices continued to appear. In November 1813, he was still dealing in candles and offering to teach German, French, and English, and three years later he again offered his services as a language teacher. The last notices of his educational activities in St. Louis we find in the fall of 1819. Late in September he proposed a "French Evening School"; the next month he gave some detail of his plans. What success he enjoyed I do not know; Brackenridge declared that Thomas Hart Benton took lessons here. Two years later Schewe died at Pensacola, Florida.³

Although his was not a school in the same sense, mention must be made here of the activities of Pierre St. Martin. On September 20 he informed the citizens of St. Louis "*that he has opened a Dancing School at Mr. Yostie's, where he hopes to receive the patronage of the public, all the new European dances (particularly the Waltz) taught in the handsomest style. Lessons in Fencing and the use of the Broad Sword will be given at the same place: every exertion will be made to perfect his scholars in each science. Private lessons in either branch will be given to those who wish it.*"⁴

The next person to announce his school in the local press bore the appropriate name of Isaac Septlivres. His card, of November 16, 1809, informed the public that "Having succeeded in providing himself with everything necessary for teaching the art

³ For a much fuller account of the career of this eccentric see my "Scholmaster—Early Western Model," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, December 1939.

⁴ *Missouri Gazette*, September 20, 1809.

of Drawing, he has the honor of acquainting the Inhabitants of St. Louis, that he intends immediately to commence his lessons in that art. He also proposes teaching geography, Mathematic's and French Grammar."⁵ Apparently he did not derive sufficient income from this enterprise, for we find him advertising the next spring that "a Tobacco Spinner, an industrious and sober man, will find constant employment at the Manufactory of I. Septlivres."⁶ His career as a schoolmaster, however, was not yet at an end.

Three days before this latest notice of the Frenchman's, George Tompkins opened a school in the house of M. Alvarez.⁷ Two years later we read that Septlivres and Tompkins intended to open a school where they would teach the French and English languages, grammar, arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, and geography. "The utility," they believed, "of a school, in which both languages can be correctly taught, is so obvious, that the subscribers think it useless to say anything on the subject. They flatter themselves that, by their diligence in the discharge of their duty, they shall deserve the patronage of the public." Septlivres also offered lessons in drawing "at any hour not appropriated to the duties of the school." He was then giving lessons in town.⁸ The partnership did not work out; it was dissolved by mutual consent on November 7, the arrangement being that each would keep school separately and would give lessons "to such of the scholars of each other, as may wish to learn the French and English languages."⁹ The last news I find of the Frenchman was dated from the St. Louis jail, January 27, 1813; imprisoned for debt, he gave notice to his creditors that he was about to go through bankruptcy proceedings.¹⁰ Tompkins soon after this announced the discontinuance of his school at the end of the quarter (May 6) and wished his patrons luck in securing a better man.¹¹ He did not free himself so easily from his teaching, however, for it was not until more than a year later that he declined "keeping school any longer," but, to show his determination this time, he offered for sale "his School Furniture, consisting of a

⁵ *Missouri Gazette*. At this time he lodged at the house of Vincent Bouls, père.

⁶ *Louisiana Gazette*, May 10, 1810.

⁷ *Louisiana Gazette*, May 3, 1810.

⁸ *Louisiana Gazette*, June 6, 1812. Notice in French and English. The school was to open on August 7.

⁹ *Missouri Gazette*, October 24, 1812.

¹⁰ *Missouri Gazette*, February 6, 1813.

¹¹ *Missouri Gazette*, February 13, 1813.

writing Table, 3 Benches, a Book Case, and a ten plate Stove."¹² His later career was more fortunate than that of his late partner, for eventually he became a Justice of the Supreme Court of Missouri.¹³

In 1812 Francis Guyol advertised that he gave lessons in "Architecture, Planimetry, Landscape, etc." Although he was also a portrait and miniature painter, he proposed at this time to instruct "a few young gentlemen in Arithmetic, Geometry plane and spheric, Trigonometry, Algebra, with Drawing, Fortification &c. so as to prepare them for an entrance into the engineering corps of the United States army."¹⁴ Guyol will reappear later in this history as a teacher at another local school.

Apparently the first pretentious girls' school was that opened on May 20, 1812 by the widow Pescay. Her advertisement is worth quoting in full, for it illustrates the excessive modesty characteristic of most of these not very professional teachers, it describes the courses thought desirable for "young ladies," it gives us some picture of the life at such a boarding school, and it informs us of the cost of this tuition and care.

Encouraged by the friendly advice of several Ladies of this place, I will open an Academy for the instruction of young Ladies.

I am sensible of the importance of the task which I impose upon myself, and how many qualifications it requires, I will supply by attention what I may want in ability, by these means I hope to meet with some success.

I will teach young Ladies, Reading, Writing, the French Grammar, Arithmetic and Geography, should any parents wish their children to learn the English language Grammatically, I will have an assistant capable to teach it. Select reading, either ancient and modern history or morality will enlighten their minds as well as form their hearts. Sewing, embroidering, &c. will fill up the intervals of their lessons.

The vicissitudes of fortune have taught me as well as many others,

¹² *Missouri Gazette*, June 12, 1814.

¹³ George Tompkins was born in Caroline County, Virginia, March 1780. He went to Kentucky about 1804 and taught school in that state for six or seven years. He studied law while he was teaching in St. Louis; after giving up his school, he moved to Franklin, Missouri, to practice. He served twice in the legislature and in 1824 succeeded John Rice Jones on the Supreme Bench, a position which he filled for twenty-one years; he retired in 1845 and died near Jefferson City, April 7, 1846, Billon, *Annals*, 1804-1821, 270-271; see also W. V. N. Bay, *The Bench and Bar of Missouri*, St. Louis, 1878, 30-36.

¹⁴ *Louisiana Gazette*, March 14, 1812. Among other things Guyol was an ensign of militia in Manuel Lisa's company, 1814, and a justice of the people in St. Louis, 1818; Louis Houck, *History of Missouri*, III, 108; *Missouri Gazette*, March 6, 1818.

how usefull it is for young persons to be early accostomed to habits of order and industry, I propose to give lessons on domestic economy to such of my pupils who will board with me, the time which they will employ in these pursuits shall not interfere with their other duties.

A salutary amusement taken under my eyes will recreate them after dinner & in the evening, after the labor of the day. For this purpose I have chosen a house with an orchard, in which (in fine weather) they may take pleasure and exercise which are necessary to health.

Desirous to devote all my time to them, I will be deprived of the society of my acquaintances. I should fear to lose by half an hour's disturbance the benefit of a day's labour. I will be disengaged on Saturday afternoon and Sunday.

If any persons should have business with me, which cannot be postponed until those days, I request them to come between the hours of one and half after one in the afternoon, and in the evening from half past six to seven o'clock.

The price of Boarding & Lodging including tuition for the above mentioned branches is one hundred and forty dollars per annum. The expences of the class, such as books, paper, quills, ink, &c. excepted. Also in case of sickness, Physician and medicine, &c. excepted.

Those who will come in the morning after breakfast and pass the day and return in the evening: seventy two dollars per annum, the expences of the class as above excepted.

Those who will board entirely at home, and will only come to take lessons: thirty six dollars per annum, the same expences as here above excepted.

Finally for those who are younger and not susceptible of the same instruction: twenty four dollars per annum, the same expences as here above excepted.

Teachers of the different branches of fine arts such as Drawing, Dancing, &c. shall be paid separately: for Drawing nine dollars a quarter, for one lesson every day, paper, pencils, &c. excepted, for dancing the same price, three lessons every week.

I shall begin on the 29th of this month at Mr. Sanguinet's house, Second street.¹⁵

Mme. Pescay had reason to know something of the vicissitudes of fortune. Born Angelique La Grange and educated in France, she married François Pescay of Santo Domingo. After the insurrection of 1793, they moved to Philadelphia where they kept a store. In 1810, now widowed, she came to St. Louis with her sons, George and Jules, and established a store. The following summer George, taking a cargo of lead to New Orleans, was

¹⁵ Her notice, dated May 8, appeared in the *Louisiana Gazette*, for Saturday, May 9, 1812.

drowned. Mme. Pescay's next enterprise was the "Young Ladies Academy." This, Billon tells us, was "well patronized by our first families" and here she "completed the education of a number of young ladies of the place and vicinity." She continued to teach for about four years and then once more tried business, at first alone and then in partnership.¹⁶ The last mention of her in St. Louis was an announcement of misfortune that overtook this woman of varied activities. She gave notice from the St. Louis Jail that she was about to apply for permission to take benefit of the laws for insolvent debtors.¹⁷ Billon says that she moved with Jules to Pensacola, Florida, in 1822.

The next person to advertise a private school was Mrs. Jane Richards (1813) who planned to open her establishment in Manuel Lisa's house, where she promised "every possible attention" to the education of the children sent her. It is probable that she continued to teach for a number of years, for in 1817 she was an assistant to Giddings.¹⁸

New educational activity was next represented by a specialty. N. B. Nichols gave notice of

opening a School for the Art of Writing on a new, elementary and systematic plan, which by the use of the 18 lessons of two hours each, persons at a proper age and common capacity may acquire, with a little practice, a fair, regular and elegant handwriting with ease and dispatch; as Capitals, Figures, large and small Roman Hands, Running and Mercantile Hands, and the art of making an elegant Pen in the best and most approved manner.

Ladies and gentlemen who wished to be instructed in this "elegant and improved art of Penmanship" were invited to call upon Nichols at H. Austin's house where they would see speci-

¹⁶ Frederic L. Billon, *Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial days, from 1804 to 1821*, St. Louis, 1888, 256-258. In 1818 she advertised as just received from New Orleans by steamboat *Constitution* goods which included a number of wines, sirops ("Cappilaire, Fleur d'orange, Punch, Limon"), and "Confitures de Havane, Raisins, Amandes, Jus d'Orange, Elixir de Garus, Creme de Rose, Huile d'Anis," snuff, tobacco, and coffee, *Missouri Gazette*, April 10, 1818; notice dated "2d Avril." The next summer, in partnership with a person named Daly, she advertised a stock of hardware just received, but this firm broke up in September of that year, *Missouri Gazette*, August 11, September 22, 1819. In the following year she offered to sell or trade two lots "on the hill," *Missouri Gazette*, October 3, 1820.

¹⁷ *Missouri Gazette*, November 22, 1820.

¹⁸ *Missouri Gazette*, May 8, 1813. Paxton, in his *Directory of St. Louis*, 1821, listed her then as a widow who kept a boarding house at 43 North Main Street. According to the *Missouri Advocate* of November 26, 1825, she died on November 19, 1825 "at an advanced age"; formerly of Connecticut she had been "for many years a resident of this place." The inventory of her estate, filed December 19, 1825, listed household goods worth \$581.56¼; *Saint Louis Probate Court Records*, No. 698.

mens of the work done by his pupils and where he would discuss terms and hours. Ladies could be provided with private lessons if they would meet in small parties and send him notice. A briefer notice in French announced that his stay in St. Louis would be short but that he would be charmed to have his plan put to the proof; here he affirmed that his series of lessons would cost five *gourdes* (dollars). An editorial puff a week later described the writing master as "a gentleman possessing the highest testimonials, from the first characters in the eastern states" and assured readers that this was "a golden moment, which, being lost, may not be attained at any future time of their lives."¹⁹

Early in 1815 C. Stewart announced the opening of his school, to be held at the house of E. Beebe, for Monday, January 18. He declared also that, if a sufficient number or pupils would attend, that he would open a night school at the same time.²⁰

In 1810-11 Henry Marie Brackenridge had found in St. Louis "a French school and an English one"; the town then had, he said, fourteen hundred people of whom four hundred were persons of color.²¹ By 1816 the population of the town had more than doubled and the possibilities of educating one's children had considerably increased—at least the variety of educational possibilities was much greater. George C. Sibley, writing from Fort Osage, September 28, 1816, informed his brother Sam that

There are now some pretty good preparatory Schools at St. Louis; one of them a Lancastrian School—no doubt a well endowed Academy will be established soon; Congress has by Law given a handsome property to the Corporation of St. Louis for the purpose of establishing a college. A respectable clergyman has been engaged I am informed, at a salary of 1500 a year to superintend an Academy at St. Louis and to preach. You need be under no apprehensions therefore on the Subject of Schools.²²

The Lancastrian establishment to which Sibley referred was that founded in the summer of 1815 by James Sawyer who, in July, rented "a pleasant room near Major Christy's." This, however, was only a temporary location, for he intended to remove "to the first eligible situation which can be procured." At his Seminary he expected to teach "Spelling, Reading, Writing and Arithmetic on the Lancastrian System. He will also teach Eng-

¹⁹ *Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser*, May 7, May 14, 1814.

²⁰ *Missouri Gazette*, January 14, 1815.

²¹ *Views of Louisiana*, Pittsburgh, 1814, 123-124.

²² Sibley MSS., Vol. I, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

lish Grammar, Geography, the Latin and Greek Languages, Rhetorick, Mathematicks and Natural Philosophy." We read of Sawyer next at Christmas time when he took an "opportunity to tender his thanks to his friends and patrons for their liberality" and also to inform them that "he hopes to make the SEMINARY useful in proportion to the public favor." In the light of this, he announced the acquisition of "a pair of Globes, some elementary classical works, and a new system of Geography, with atlases of incomparable merit, [which] will enable him to offer the means of education to young gentlemen and ladies under very favorable circumstances." Tuition in his school was "five dollars advanced, or six dollars at the end of each quarter, in Grammar and Geography, seven dollars advanced; Mathematicks, Belles Letters [sic], Latin or Greek languages or Philosophy, ten dollars." For tuition in the "higher branches of education" he asked for application by letter before the first of the year, so that he would have an opportunity to send east for books. "Indigent children and orphans," he announced, "will be taken at a reduced price or for nothing as the case may require."²³

In his second year Sawyer took for a partner a man who was to attain a good deal of reputation by his several books on the early west. Timothy Flint and James Sawyer on May 30, 1816, informed St. Louisans that they were now

Associated for the purpose of continuing to teach the first principles of education upon the lancastrian system; and the higher branches, as Grammar, Geography with the use of Maps and the Globe, Composition, Rhetoric, the Latin and Greek languages, Mathematics and Philosophy. . . . They propose to pay particular attention to Letter-Writing, a branch of education, the most indispensable, and at the same time most neglected. They will strive to teach their pupils a correct elocution and to deliver with propriety.

Furthermore, they gave assurance to parents in another important detail: "While no principles of religion will be taught, that militate with any form of christian worship, they pledge themselves to parents, that they will watch over the manners, the morals, the improvement and happiness of their pupils with undeviating strictness and fidelity." In addition they offered to give private lessons to those who would "associate for that purpose."²⁴

²³ *Missouri Gazette*, July 22, December 23, December 30, 1815.

²⁴ *Missouri Gazette*, June 1, 1816. For Flint consult John Ervin Kirkpatrick, *Timothy Flint, Pioneer, Missionary, Author, Editor, 1780-1840*, Cleveland, Clark, 1911.

The Sawyer-Flint partnership did not last very long. Late in the year Sawyer was advertising for "a few scholars in the Arts and Sciences" whom he would teach at his house near Belle Fontaine.²⁵ They may have parted because they could not get along together but Flint told the Secretary of the Missionary Society at Hartford that he had found the wickedness of St. Louis oppressive and the exertions of his missionary preaching too great: "the duties of a school were incompatible with all this, & with my health." He added "I will just observe in closing, that I received 120\$ at St. Louis for keeping school, & 104 as a subscription for preaching one quarter. I came here [St. Charles, Missouri] the first of Sept. I was sollicitated to stay there, & might have had a large salary. But I prefer privacy & the duties of a missionary with a very limited living."²⁶

Before leaving Flint I introduce here a harsh and satiric comment of his on schools in St. Louis descriptive of the years 1815 to 1820. There is an element of truth in the statement but there is also evident a good deal of bitterness and prejudice.

I have been amused in reading puffing advertisements in the newspapers. A little subscription school, in which half the pupils are abecedarians, is a college. One is a Lancastrian school, or a school of "instruction mutuelle." There is the Pestalozzi establishment, with its appropriate emblazoning. There is the agricultural school, the missionary school, the grammar box, the new way to make a wit of a dunce in six lessons, and all the mechanical ways of inoculating children with learning, that they may not endure the pain of getting it in the old and natural way. I would not have you smile exclusively at the people of the West. This ridiculous species of swindling is making as much progress in your country as here. The misfortune is, that these vile pretensions finally induce the people to believe, that there is a "royal road" to learning. The old and beaten track, marked out by the only sure guide, experience, is forsaken. The parents are flattered, deceived, and swindled. Puffing pretenders take the place of the modest man of science, who scorns to compete with him in these vile arts. The children have their brains distended with the "east wind," and grow up at once empty and conceited.

²⁵ *Missouri Gazette*, November 30, 1816. At some time in 1816 Sawyer bought the southwest corner of 4th and Walnut from Auguste Chouteau for \$251. Of this sum he paid \$1 in cash, gave a note for \$100 for one year, and paid the balance in tuition, for Chouteau's children, *Saint Louis Globe-Democrat*, July 7, 1918.

²⁶ Timothy Flint to the Rev. Abel Flint, St. Charles, October 10, 1816; typescript, Missouri Historical Society, Presbyterian Church Envelope. In spite of his determination to avoid teaching he announced in the *Missouri Gazette*, February 15, 1817, that he and his wife proposed soon to open a school at St. Charles.

These founders of new schools, for the most part, advertise themselves from London, Paris, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and have all performed exploits in the regions whence they came, and bring the latest improvements with them. As to what they can do, and what they will do, the object is to lay on the colouring thick and threefold. A respectable man wishes to establish himself in a school in those regions. He consults a friend, who knows the meridian of the country. The advice is, Call your school by some new and imposing name. Let it be understood, that you have a new way of instructing children, by which they can learn twice as much, in half the time, as by the old ways. Throw off all modesty. Move the water, and get in while it is moving. In short, depend upon the *gullibility* of the people. A school, modelled on this advice, was instituted at St. Louis, while I was there, with a very imposing name. The masters,—professors, I should say,—proposed to teach most of the languages, and all the sciences. Hebrew they would communicate in twelve lessons; Latin and Greek, with a proportionate promptness. These men, who were to teach all this themselves, had read Erasmus with a translation, and knew the Greek alphabet, and in their public discourses,—for they were ministers,—sometimes dealt very abusively with the “king’s English.”²⁷

It is possible that some of this diatribe was intended for his former partner Sawyer; it is even more clear that much of it was meant for his missionary rivals, the Baptists, Peck and Welch, and for the “college” of the Jesuits. Of these, more anon.

The first of the new establishments in 1816 was a “Day & Night School” which Michael Cusake had been “induced by the solicitations of several of his friends” to open in St. Louis. Reading, writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, English grammar, the theory of surveying, including “trigometry, highs and distances” were the subjects he expected to teach.²⁸

More imposing was the school to be opened in October by the Rev. Mr. Giddings who, according to a card in the *Missouri Gazette*, was “known to be a scholar as well as a gentleman of correct habits.”²⁹ More than seven months later we read that Giddings, “having procured a convenient house, will give every attention to the instruction of youths, which may be placed under his care.” Being something of a universal genius, apparently, he

²⁷ *Recollections of Ten Years in the Valley of the Mississippi*. . . Cincinnati, 1826, 185-187.

²⁸ *Missouri Gazette*, September 14, 1816.

²⁹ *Missouri Gazette*, October 12, 1816. In his journal Giddings noted that he “commenced school in St. Louis on Wednesday, 4th of December, 1816”; “Memoir of Rev. Salmon Giddings,” *The Missouri Presbyterian Recorder*, I, No. 5, St. Louis, September 1855, p. 131.

"will instruct in all branches of science taught in any of the colleges in the United States." His fees were to be four dollars the quarter "for those who are only learning to spell; five dollars for reading and writing, and six dollars for all the higher branches of education."³⁰

Early in the next year we find him venturing into coeducation, for he proposed a "school for young ladies and gentlemen . . . at his house on the hill." He assured parents that "every attention will be paid to the improvement and morals of youth." By mid-summer he made further changes in his establishment. He had then "a gentleman of liberal education, as an assistant, who has been for some time a preceptor in a distinguished academy at the eastward and who is highly recommended"; he proposed, therefore, to organize his school "on the plan of the best regulated academies." By way of elaboration he explained that "those students who are pursuing the higher branches of education will be in a separate room with an instructor, that they may not be interrupted by younger scholars. The advantages of such an institution judiciously arranged are obvious." Here "all branches of literature" would be taught on request and "every effort will be made to improve the students in science and strict attention paid to their morals." Prices now were to be "in the lower school as formerly. In the grammar school seven dollars per quarter, for English studies, and eight dollars for languages and higher branches of Mathematics."³¹

The next public notice reaffirmed all that had been announced before, but added that the price for small scholars would hereafter be six dollars per quarter and that for all students there would be an extra charge for wood "which, however, will be trifling to each student." In April of this year he announced the continuation of his school and declared that he had established also "a separate department for young Ladies, who will be under the particular care of an approved instructress." Tuition prices varied once more: he now charged ten dollars per quarter for languages, eight dollars for geography, English grammar, and the higher branches of mathematics, seven dollars for writing

³⁰ *Missouri Gazette*, May 31, 1817. On May 1 he had bought from James Sawyer a house and lot for \$1,080. Though the advertisement does not mention it, he was not teaching by himself, for in his journal for January 26, 1817 he wrote: "Mrs. Richards commences teaching school with me," *Memoir*, 132.

³¹ *Missouri Gazette*, January 3, July 3, 1818.

and arithmetic, and six dollars for "all others." It is interesting to discover, too, that he would deduct ten per cent for cash.³²

In 1817 three more schools were started. The first of the advertisements announced in English and in French that Robert S. Lett had opened an academy on Front Street next to Wilt's store and opposite Yosti's. There he offered tuition in "Reading, Writing, Drawing, Geography, use of the Globes, History and Philosophy—English, French and Latin—Arithmetic, Geometry, Trigonometry, Mensuration, Surveying, Navigation, &c. &c. Also Book-keeping by double and single entry."³³

Henry S. Lee, from Baltimore, proposed to teach both young ladies and gentlemen "Reading, plain and ornamental Penmanship, practical and rational Arithmetic, English Grammar, Composition, Elocution, Geography and Latin." He would provide also a night school where those young men who could not attend in the day would have the "utmost assiduity" paid them. He only awaited an "eligible situation" before opening.³⁴

In the fall Hartley Sullivan announced what was practically a business course. For the quarter beginning Monday, October 13, in the house lately occupied by the Rev. Salmon Giddings, he intended to teach

the following branches of literature, on the following terms: Spelling & Reading, per quarter, \$5; Writing, round and Italian hands, with propriety, also plain Arithmetic, \$6; Vulgar and decimal Arithmetic, on a superior plan, \$7; Stereometry and Gauging in all its various forms, \$8; Book-keeping, by double entry, \$10.

In addition to the customary assurance about moral care and exertion over studies, Sullivan pointed out to a discerning public "the salubrity of that quarter of the town, where the school house is located."³⁵

In this year, too, we hear of the opening of a new dancing school by Durocher. There is no detail of news concerning his class, but we do find him active in other years. For a time, at least, in 1818 he taught dancing at Mme. Perdreauville's school

³² *Missouri Gazette*, January 8, April 7, 1819. Salmon Giddings was born at Hartford, Connecticut, March 2, 1782, educated at Union College and Andover Theological Seminary, and ordained in 1814. He came to St. Louis April 6, 1816 and died there February 15, 1828. Consult Thomas Scharf, *History of Saint Louis*, Philadelphia, 1883, II, 1698-1702; a rather long sketch of Giddings, "By One Who Knew Him," will be found in the *Missouri Republican*, April 19, 1852.

³³ *Missouri Gazette*, May 31, 1817.

³⁴ *Missouri Gazette*, August 2, 1817.

³⁵ *Missouri Gazette*, November 1, 1817.

for young ladies. That he continued to instruct is clear from the announcement of his "Benefit and concluding Ball, which, "with additional music," was to be held on Tuesday, January 26, 1819. We read that he gave "particular invitations to those ladies only who have received season tickets, & hopes that they will not fail to favor him with their company that night." He intended to continue to give lessons and would attend at ladies houses.³⁶

Early in 1818 the *Missouri Gazette* congratulated the people of St. Louis on the present state of education. "The state of religion and the want of schools has been long lamented by the thinking part of the population of this territory," it declared editorially. "Now an opportunity offers by the recent arrival of men of piety and learning, men who devoted themselves to the cause of the gospel and 'to teach the young idea how to shoot.' Almost every denomination, of christian, Catholick, Presbyterian, Baptist & Methodist, have now their teachers, and it requires only a benign sentiment, and a zealous regard for the welfare of the rising generation to contribute generously to the erection of temples dedicated to worship and halls of learning."³⁷ One of these groups was that of Baptist missionaries led by John Mason Peck and James E. Welch.

On December 1, 1817 Peck arrived in St. Louis; Welch, with some of the others, had arrived a week before and had hired for school purposes a room behind a store. For this room, fourteen feet by sixteen, they paid fourteen dollars per month.³⁸ The first advertisement announced the opening of the school for January 1, 1818 and offered the usual elementary subjects. The first quarter closed on March 25 and the new quarter was elaborately advertised to begin on April 6. The school "under the direction and patronage of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions for the United States" was now known as the Western Mission Academy. It was to be housed in "a commodious and airy room" in a "new frame house near Mr. Pitzer's brick livery stable on the hill." The lower division of students would be taught

Reading, orthography, with the definition of words, English grammar, writing, arithmetic, composition, book-keeping by single and double entry, geography with the drawing of maps, oratory, history

³⁶ *Missouri Gazette*, October 25, 1817, September 18, 1818, January 15, 1819. In Paxton's *Directory* (1821) I find an Auguste Durocher, tavern-keeper, 205 North Main; whether this was the same man I do not know.

³⁷ *Missouri Gazette*, January 23, 1818.

³⁸ Rufus Babcock, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life—Memoir of John Mason Peck, D.D.*, edited from his *Journals and Correspondance*, Philadelphia, 1864, 83, 84-85.

combined with chronology, &c. . . . The rudiments of the following branches will be taught. Natural and moral philosophy, rhetoric, logic, mathematics, natural history, including botany, or the knowledge and classification of the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms, astronomy, &c. &c.

Besides all these regular lessons the student would benefit from "familiar lectures . . . explanatory of many important and useful subjects." Indeed, parents and other interested persons were invited to visit the school on Friday afternoons when, in addition to the satisfaction they might obtain from "the examination of the scholars in the lessons of the week," they would be edified by a lecture delivered by the Superintendent on "some interesting subject of science." For the present season Peck would superintend the school with the aid of one or more assistants as the school increased. They expected to make this a "permanent and respectable seminary," should they get support from the citizens, and, furthermore, they hoped to establish at some future time a separate department for young ladies "who may wish to acquire the different branches of a useful, polite, and ornamental education." Manners and morals would have the usual care: "every exertion [would be] made to inform the mind, and regulate the conduct to virtuous habits." Their rates were a trifle lower than those of some schools; for reading and orthography, five dollars; for writing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, &c., six dollars; students desiring to begin Latin, Greek, or Hebrew or the higher sciences were to make private bargains.³⁹

The full contribution of Peck to educational activities in St. Louis was made clear by a notice immediately following the school advertisement. "To the ladies and gentlemen . . . desirous of acquiring the knowledge, and mode of classifying the vegetable kingdom" he offered a course of lectures on the "elementary principles of botany. . . . To the patronage of the ladies, especially, is this delightful and instructive science recommended." That he obtained the "competent number of subscribers . . . to justify the expense" seems unlikely, for in mid-April he announced in the press the first of the general series of Friday public lectures which he had promised. On the 17th, at 4 P. M. he opened the course of scientific lectures with one on astronomy. Other lectures in the series were concerned with

³⁹ *Missouri Gazette*, December 27, 1817, March 27, 1818.

geography and zoology.⁴⁰ Presently the citizenry was invited to attend the public examinations at the close of the second quarter, and the public was also reminded that, though books and stationary were furnished at Philadelphia prices, they must be paid for upon delivery. For the new quarter, to commence July 6, an "able assistant" had been employed.⁴¹

For nearly a year there is a break in the history of this school. In April 1819, however, we discover J. M. Peck and James Craig opening a school in St. Charles, Missouri. The Western Mission Academy, continued under the superintendence of the Rev. James E. Welch, suggested that "a few pupils may find admittance" at its school next door to the St. Louis Bank, for the new quarter. One of the pupils now attending was J. B. Charbonneau, the half-breed son of Toussaint Charbonneau, interpreter for Lewis and Clark. For the last two quarters of 1819 and the first of 1820, William Clark, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, paid Welch \$24.75 to cover tuition, firewood, and ink.⁴² In October Welch, with whom was now linked a man named Hinkley, announced an evening school at the Baptist Vestry Room; he thought that "Gentlemen who have apprentices to educate will, no doubt, avail themselves of this opportunity." A year later Peck announced that he was once more teaching school in the vestry room of the Baptist Church; "every scholar to furnish his proportion of fuel." Once more, too, he undertook the general education of the public through lectures in the public room of the church. The course of twelve, which apparently surveyed all ancient and modern history, was offered for five dollars. The closing lecture of this series, that on the early history of North America and the United States, was delivered on March 31, 1821.⁴³

The new offerings in 1819 increased both in number and variety. A. C. Van Hirtum, "Organ Factor and Professor of Music, late from Amsterdam" in January notified "the lovers of music," that he was prepared to teach them "FORTE PIANO." Information concerning his moral character prospective patrons could obtain from Bishop DuBourgh; his professional capacity would

⁴⁰ *Missouri Gazette*, March 27, April 17, May 1, May 8, May 29, 1818.

⁴¹ *Missouri Gazette*, June 26, 1818.

⁴² *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, II, 291. "For boarding, lodging, and washing of J. B. Charbonneau, a half-Indian, from 1st January to 31st March, 1820" L. T. Honoré received \$45. For the history of the Charbonneau family consult Stella M. Drumm (editor), *Luttig's Journal*, St. Louis, Missouri Historical Society, 1920, 132-140.

⁴³ *Missouri Gazette*, April 7, April 21, October 13, 1819, November 22, December 20, 1820, March 31, 1821.

be illustrated by the satisfaction that he would give his employers. For twelve "tickets" he asked eight dollars. In an advertisement a week later he informed the public that he had an excellent piano and that "a large collection of Music and Musical Instruments [is] expected shortly." He would teach the clarinet, too. On May 22 he thanked the citizens of St. Louis for their encouragement and informed them that "besides the theory and practice of the Piano" he would also teach "composition, and the method of correcting and making accompaniments for almost every musical instrument." He announced, too, that "piano-fortes, music, music paper and strings, may be shortly expected from Lexington," and, in addition to dealing in such supplies, he would tune pianos. Furthermore, he proposed to give a public concert as soon as he could secure the cooperation of the amateurs of the town. To those pupils who had no piano at home he would give lessons in his room at Mr. Chenie's. Our remaining notice of Van Hirtum gives us a fairly complete idea of the store he ran as a sideline:

The admirers of the Arts are respectfully informed that A. C. Van Hirtum has just received, and has for sale, a most elegant ASTROLABE with a prospective glass, compass needle, transporter, &c. all in complete order, calculated for the use of surveyors and map-makers. An elegant painting, representing a lady playing on the Mandolina, executed by one of the first artists in the Netherlands. Several very fine drawings from the hands of the best artists of the Academy of Antwerp. Also a number of Box-Organs each calculated to play several tunes.⁴⁴

In March of that year Mrs. Peerce opened a school for young ladies in the house of Mme. La Case on Second Street. Book-learning there seemed to be limited to reading and writing, but in addition she would teach the "various kinds of needlework, viz. Counterpanes, Ladies dresses, Caps, Handkerchiefs, Toilets and Samplers of the latest fashions." Her terms were five dollars per quarter for "all the branches."⁴⁵

Mrs. Peerce soon found stiff competition in the Young Ladies Academy opened by Mme. Perdreauxville. This woman, the wife of an exiled French Baron, had attractions for the elite that the other could not have had and furthermore she offered a much wider range of studies. In addition to the usual elementary sub-

⁴⁴ *Missouri Gazette*, January 16, January 23 (he was then living at Mr. Maury's and would teach at the "corner house attached to the Gazette"), June 5, August 7, 1818.

⁴⁵ *Missouri Gazette*, March 6, 1818. The opening day was to be March 15.

jects (including sacred and profane history, geography, grammar, and arithmetic) she, too, taught all kinds of needlework in the house of Mr. Tesson on the hill. In her second notice Mme. Perdreauxville listed two further attractions: young ladies could now have lessons in music, both vocal and instrumental, and they could also have instruction in dancing. For the latter instruction Mme. Perdreauxville had engaged M. Durocher of whom we have previous acquaintance. The history of the Perdreauxville family in St. Louis was marked by the marriage of Marie Antoinette Adèle, the older daughter, to J. P. B. Gratiot. In 1820 the family moved to New Orleans.⁴⁶

The next establishment was one of the most important, for in some sense at least it can be regarded as the forerunner of St. Louis University. On October 23, 1818 the *Missouri Gazette* carried an announcement that "The Rev. Mr. Niel, assisted by three other Clergymen, under the auspices and superintendence of the Right Rev. Bishop Du Bourg will open on the 16th November next, in the house of Mr. Alvarez, Church street, an Academy for young Gentlemen." It began in slightly more imposing style than most schools for "none will be received before he can read at least tolerably well." The course was to consist of "the Latin, English and French languages, Arithmetic, the Elements of Mathematics and Geography, according to the ability of the pupil and the intention of the parents." Terms were twelve dollars per quarter payable in advance. Books and stationery the parents must provide and "each pupil must have a bag to bring in and carry out his books, for the eventual loss of which the masters do not hold themselves answerable."

Frequent notices of this school appear during the next several years. Late in the winter we read that Niel "has secured the co-operation of an able English tutor, late a student of Maynooth College, for the teaching of the English language, Practical Arithmetic, and Book-Keeping." In September the public was informed that the Academy would re-open on the 15th. Two parts of the announcement are of special interest. In addition to the usual pledge for the moral and literary improvement of pu-

⁴⁶ *Missouri Gazette*, September 11 (notice in English and French); September 18, 1818, November 24, 1819; Billon, *Annals, 1804-1821*, 313-314. The Baron René de Perdreauxville in his youth had been page to Marie Antoinette and eventually, returning to France sometime after the Terror, had been *gouverneur des pages* for Napoleon. At the fall of the Emperor he came to America. For a time in New Orleans he taught school and later was associated with different newspapers in that city. For him see Edward Laroque Tinker, *Les Ecrits de langue française en Louisiane*, Paris, Champion, 1932, 374.

pils, Niel declared that "a due sense of religion, the foundation of all morality, will be by them [the masters] indefatigably inculcated, but without any interference with the peculiar tenets of such as might be attached to persuasions different from that of their instructors." Now, too, the head of the school took the opportunity to announce that he was "laying the foundation of a college, where he expects to be able to accomodate a number of boarders as early as the beginning of November next." On November 8 he gave notice that the St. Louis Academy was ready to receive boarders. Among those attending was Toussaint Charbonneau, another half-Indian child of the interpreter. Either for this child or for Jean Baptist who was attending Welch's school the Indian Office at St. Louis purchased "a Roman History (\$1.50), two quires of paper and quills (\$1.50), one Scott's Lessons (\$1.50), one dictionary (\$1.50), one cipherring book (\$1), and one slate and pencils (\$.62)."⁴⁷ When the St. Louis College, as it was next designated, was about to reopen on September 1, 1820, the card said that "a few more boarders can be accomodated." In the fall of this year a course of lectures, in French, for grown-up young gentlemen only, was to be given by the College.⁴⁸

In the fall of 1818, too, the growth of the town and of the west in general was illustrated by the establishment of two specialized places. On October 26 Deneumoulin gave notice that he had opened, at Mr. Chenie's on Main Street, an "Academy of Architecture, where the fine Arts of Drawing will be taught by him, on the most reasonable terms." He was willing also to give private lessons away from the school.⁴⁹ On November 10 a man named Frewin started an "Evening Architectural Drawing Academy" in a "commodious, warm apartment in the stone house opposite Col. Easton's" and for support he depended upon the "patronage of the mechanics of St. Louis, and those who wish to acquire a competent knowledge of the useful science of architectural drawing."⁵⁰

The last of the schools on the list for this year was a mathematical institution to be opened by Otis Turner and Warren

⁴⁷ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, II, 291. The fee paid to Father Niel was twelve dollars. Among other items purchased from J. & G. H. Kennerly for Charbonneau were socks, shoes (2 pair), a hat, and six yards of corduroy.

⁴⁸ *Missouri Gazette*, March 10, September 11, December 15, 1819, August 23, November 22, 1820.

⁴⁹ *Missouri Gazette*, November 6, 1818.

⁵⁰ *Missouri Gazette*, November 13, 1818.

Hunt of December 7. In a house belonging to Mr. Potter, on Church Street, they proposed to teach "Common Arithmetic, Geometry, Trigonometry, Surveying, Mensuration, &c with Geometrical and Arithmetical calculations; likewise, Practical Astronomy with the use of Mathematical instruments applied thereto. Also, Architectural Drawing, Perspective Drawing, shading of all kinds, Landscapes, in their true colors, &c."⁵¹

In 1819 fewer schools were started; obviously there must have been a saturation point. A Mrs. Love planned to open on March 15 a school for girls in which she would teach the usual spelling and reading, history and geography, with an emphasis on needlework of every description.⁵² In June a Mr. and Mrs. Hinkley rented the house north of Will Carr's and started a "Seminary for instruction in the different branches of an English education, and plain and fancy needlework." Although this place was, of course, for girls, "small boys from 3 to 6 years of age, will be admitted." Their school was probably not successful, for in September a card informed the public that "Mr. Hinkley, having taken the house lately occupied by Mr. Mullet [?], can accommodate six or eight gentlemen with board and lodging." That he had not entirely given up the idea of teaching we have already seen in his evening school partnership with James Welch.⁵³ One other notice remains anonymous and the enterprise was probably abortive, for no further word was published concerning it. In the *Missouri Gazette* of September 29, 1819, we read that

A Person who has been in the habit of teaching in some of the first institutions both in Europe and America, would take charge of a School on a liberal plan, for twelve months, commencing on the 1st of November next. As to character and ability, unquestionable references can be given. A line addressed to A. B. and left at that office will be attended to.

The Kaskaskia paper was asked to run the same notice.

During this year we note another school of music. In an announcement both complacent and patronizing S. Willson declared that "feeling ever anxious to improve society by all means within his power, [he] proposes to the citizens of St. Louis, as one

⁵¹ *Missouri Gazette*, December 4, 1818.

⁵² *Missouri Gazette*, March 10, 1819.

⁵³ *Missouri Gazette*, June 2, September 18, October 13, 1819. This may have been the same person as the C. A. Hinkley who advertised a book-binding and pocketbook manufactory in the *Missouri Gazette*, April 4, 1821.

step towards it, to teach vocal Music." He already had enough subscribers to begin and now suggested that "those who would wish to improve themselves in this science . . . attend on Saturday evening, 30 inst. at the Baptist Meeting-house."⁵⁴ In the art of the dance, too, the season offered the services of John Boudon for one quarter with the promise that, if he should be sufficiently encouraged, he would continue his class. Young ladies might have lessons at home. "Many new and fashionable Cotillions and Figures will be taught." The class was to be held on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday each week and the cost was twelve dollars for the quarter, half in advance.⁵⁵

Four educational establishments with one of music and one of dancing form the new crop in 1820. First in the year came Patrick Sullivan who determined to teach "the Greek and Latin Languages, English Grammer &c." in a schoolroom at Mrs. Benoit's on Main Street. Prospective patrons were invited to attend recitations at the school. As a further indication of his worthiness, Sullivan published a testimonial letter by the Rev. John Ward, Dr. Zeno Fenn, and Horatio Cozens, a lawyer.

We have listened with considerable interest and satisfaction to your reading the Greek and Latin Languages—and are fully satisfied with the taste and judgment you evinced in teaching the same—are gratified to learn that you are offering your services to the citizens of St. Louis, and wish, Sir, that you may receive a patronage that shall equal your useful undertaking.

For a time in 1820 Sullivan served as professor of ancient languages in the Catholic College, but the next year we read of him holding school in the "house next to, and nearly confronting the old gaol." His terms for Greek and Latin were now ten dollars per quarter, for English Grammar, eight dollars and for "juvenile classes" six dollars.⁵⁶

In January also Miss P. Le Favre announced the opening on February 1 of her academy for young ladies. Her notice, in English and French, offered the "French and English languages by principles; Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography, History and Mythology"—likewise all kinds of needlework. A year and a half later she informed the public that she then had room for five or six more young ladies, that her price for reading only was six dollars per quarter and for

⁵⁴ *Missouri Gazette*, October 27, 1819.

⁵⁵ *Missouri Gazette*, October 27, 1819.

⁵⁶ *Missouri Gazette*, January 19, 1820, July 4, 1821; Billon, *Annals*, 1804-1821, 81.

all other subjects nine dollars, and that parents might call upon her at Mr. Tesson's, No. 50 Main Street.⁵⁸

Presently Edmund M'Manus respectfully proposed a "juvenile school" where he would teach "sundry branches of an English Education . . . on the most moderate terms." His school was to be held "in the upper part of Mr. Papin's stone house, now occupied by Mr. Russell, and next door to Mr. M'Guire's on Main Street."⁵⁹

Late in the year a Mrs. Gay offered to teach young ladies. Of her history at this time I know nothing. A year later, however, she was teaching in partnership with a man named Wilson. Their school, advertised as the St. Louis Academy, was "to be under the semi-annual examination of the Trustees of the public school lands in St. Louis." We discover that "the teachers instruct the youth of both sexes in all the useful and ornamental branches of education usually taught in seminaries of this kind in different parts of the United States." Tuition was payable half in advance at the following rates: Latin and Greek, eight dollars per quarter; English grammar, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, astronomy, plain and ornamental needlework, seven dollars; reading and spelling, five dollars. Apparently they did a fair business, for this notice was run again four months later.⁶⁰

The two special schools must have a word. A. D. Curden offered to teach the theory and practice of vocal music on Tuesdays and Fridays in the Baptist Church beginning May 30; apparently there were two sessions: 3 P. M. and Candlelight.⁶¹ Henry Guibert proposed a dancing school to begin November 23.⁶²

In 1821 St. Louis enjoyed a sort of coming of age. The state was admitted to the Union; the town had grown during its territorial years from one thousand to more than five thousand population; the first directory, the first book of poems, the first play were published. It is a conveniently important year in

⁵⁷ *Missouri Gazette*, January 26, 1820; *St. Louis Enquirer*, August 25, 1821 (notice also in French).

⁵⁸ *Missouri Gazette*, April 12, 1820.

⁵⁹ *Missouri Gazette*, November 22, 1820; *St. Louis Enquirer*, October 6, 1821, January 12, 1822. Agnes P. Gay (who, Billon informs us, was a widow from the east, with two children—*Annals, 1804-1821*, 346) married Josiah Spalding, attorney of St. Louis, on Wednesday, April 2, 1823, *Missouri Republican*, April 9, 1823 and died forty-four years later, some years after her husband. The administrator of her estate gave bond for \$50,000, *Saint Louis Probate Court Records*, No. 7107.

⁶⁰ *Missouri Gazette*, May 31, 1820.

⁶¹ *Missouri Gazette*, November 22, 1820.

which to bring to a close this survey of private schools. Paxton, editor of the *Directory* of 1821 and author of the "Notes on St. Louis" that formed its introduction, pointed out that the town now contained "ten common schools" in addition to St. Louis College. There was no dearth of educational possibilities. Of the most imposing institution he wrote that the St. Louis College under the direction of Bishop Du Bourg "is a two-story brick building, and has about sixty-five students, who are taught the Greek, Latin, French, English, Spanish and Italian languages, mathematics, elementary and transcendent, drawing, &c. There are several teachers." Divinity, oriental languages and philosophy were taught at the Catholic Seminary at the Barrens.⁶² From the *Directory* I assemble the following faculty list for the College "on south Church street below Market": the Reverend Francis Niel, principal and curate of the Cathedral; Samuel Smith, professor of languages; the Rev. Andreas Ferrary, professor of ancient languages and director of the St. Louis College; the Rev. Leo Deys, professor of languages and director of the St. Louis College; the Rev. Aristides Anduze, professor of special mathematics and director of the St. Louis College; Patrick Sullivan, professor of ancient languages; Michael G. Saulnier, professor of languages; Francis M. Guyol, professor of writing and drawing;⁶³ John Martin, prefect of studies.⁶⁴

In addition to those already listed Paxton included in the *Directory* eleven other teachers. Five of these are familiar names. There was Jean Baptiste Trudeau who had come to St. Louis in 1774 and had taught there ever since. His, no doubt, was the French school to which Brackenridge referred in 1810. Still teaching, too, were the Rev. Salmon Giddings, Miss P. Le Favre, and Agnes Gay. The Moses E. Wilson listed as a teacher must have been the man noted above as Mrs. Gay's partner.

⁶² As quoted in R. Edwards, *The Great West*, St. Louis, 1860, 324.

⁶³ Guyol announced in 1821 that he would begin teaching the French language as soon as ten scholars applied; terms twelve dollars per quarter, *St. Louis Enquirer*, April 28, 1821. What relation this had to his work at the College I do not know.

⁶⁴ Other notices of the St. Louis College can be found in the *St. Louis Enquirer*, April 19, 1823; *Missouri Republican*, August 20, October 15, December 24, 1823. Elihu Shepard joined the teaching staff in 1823 and taught in the College for three years; consult his *Autobiography*, St. Louis, 1869, 98-105. The College was discontinued in 1827. For the history of St. Louis College see G. J. Garraghan, *The Jesuits in the Middle United States*, New York, 1938, I, 271-273; W. H. W. Fanning, "Historical Sketch of St. Louis University, St. Louis University Bulletin, December 1908, 6-12. For the early history of St. Louis University see Garraghan, I, Chapter IX.

Three other teachers, for whom I found no advertisements, were William Macklin, Zebulon Pendleton, and Francis Rochford. To these add Mrs. Snow, "teacher of females," also Maurice Laurent. In a newspaper advertisement the latter had been introduced to St. Louisans as "possessing the exclusive privilege in the state of Missouri, of a new method of teaching the art of writing called 'TACHYGRAPHY,' invented by Mr. Sprangh . . . he engages to rectify the worst writing in the short space of six days."⁶⁵ Last, but not least imposing, is the name of Francis Regnier, teacher of French. On September 5 he referred to the school which he had opened the previous February in Mr. Didier's house on Church Street and informed his public that he was now living in the house formerly occupied by F. M. Guyol, in the same street, "where he continues teaching Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic by demonstration." Because he has been so favored by the public, he continued, he had recently made a special arrangement with Messrs. Sullivan and Duvelus in order that henceforth the Greek, Latin, and English languages as well as bookkeeping shall also be taught in his seminary. Furthermore, "his house enables him to receive children of both sexes in commodious and separate apartments." Tuition was to be proportioned to the "age, proficiency, and disposition" of the pupils and boarders would be received on very moderate terms. The school was open from 9 A. M. till noon and from 2 P. M. to 5 P. M. "In the summer season the regulations will be varied." In addition to the subjects already named he would give the elements of history, mythology, geography, and other sciences; also private lessons in French or English. In a separate notice he proclaimed his intention to devote his leisure hours from 5 to 7 P. M. "to the instruction of such gentlemen as may feel an avidity to acquire a satisfactory radical knowledge as well of the French and English Languages, as of Arithmetic, Book-keeping, &c. His apartment is comfortable, and well adapted to the contemplated purpose." He gave assurance that "in the prosecution of his literary occupations, his primary object shall be, to impart as well to his night as to his day scholars an education rather substantial than ostentatious." As soon as he had sufficient pupils he would hold class every night except Saturday and for this would charge \$2.50 in advance.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ *St. Louis Enquirer*, February 3, 1821; notice also in French. He gave his residence as at Mr. Millaudon's on Main Street.

⁶⁶ *Missouri Gazette*, September 5 (notice also in French), September 26, 1821.

From this survey of private schools it will be obvious that St. Louisans during the territorial days were not suffering for want of a chance at education. None of these schools became permanent but most of them ran more than the year in which they first appear on record, and perhaps one reason why they did not enjoy greater permanence was the number of them in relation to the number of possible scholars. It must be remembered, too, that for the wealthier families they had to compete with schools in Montreal, Quebec, New Orleans, Bardstown (Kentucky), West Point, and other places in the eastern states. If the courses appear primitive to us today, if the qualifications of the teachers are not always obvious, they would bear comparison with such schools elsewhere in their own day. St. Louis was a small town on the edge of civilization, but it did not lack for teachers of the young.

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The Jesuit Missionary in the Role of Physician

Perhaps more important than any of the Jesuit missionary's other non-religious functions was his performance in the rôle of physician to the Spaniards and Indians who resided in his mission district.¹ Father Pfefferkorn's observations about the care of the sick and about the sicknesses found among Sonorans, reveal him to have been a man who combined in varying proportions a pseudo-scientific knowledge of illnesses and their cures with an eminently "common sense" practicality.

The plant and mineral kingdoms of Sonora were believed to contain countless healing materials and antidotes for a wide variety of maladies and poisons. There is at least the implication in Pfefferkorn's description of these medicaments that in Sonora God had been particularly beneficent in compensating for the lack of "doctors, surgeons, and apothecaries" with a plentiful supply of health promoting agencies.

The juice of *mescal* leaves was considered an infallible anti-scorbutic; the root of the same plant healed wounds, while spirits distilled from the root were used as a stomach tonic. With mescal spirits Pfefferkorn cured his own stomach, which had been unsettled for six months. Spaniards who had the equipment for the distillation of mescal spirits charged an exorbitant price for the liquid.

The *chicamilla*, a small, beet-like root, possessed a skin, or bark, which could be used both as a laxative and as an emetic, depending, it was said, on whether the bark was stripped up or down the plant. Excessive effects were mitigated by a dose of cold maize porridge. The *peonilla* or *peonia*, a very small root, boiled in water or pulverized served as a stomach tonic. Still another root, the *jaramatraca*, was revered as a "miracle root" and applied in various ways constituted a cure for such assorted maladies as stomach ailments, ague, diarrhoea, nose bleed, and

¹ Unless otherwise indicated by footnote this account is derived from Ignaz Pfefferkorn, S. J., *Beschreibung der Landschaft Sonora samt andern merkwürdigen Nachrichten von den inneren Theilen Neu-Spaniens und Reise aus Amerika bis in Deutschland, nebst einer Landcharte von Sonora*, Köln am Rheine, 1794-1795, 2 vols. For a more complete description of this work see my "Father Pfefferkorn and His Description of Sonora," *MID-AMERICA*, XX (October 1938), 229-252. The missionary labored in the land below the Gila and Colorado rivers for the eleven years preceding the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767.

toothache. It was employed also as an antidote for poisons, either from stings and bites of noxious animals or from poisoned arrows. Pfefferkorn doubted the more extravagant claims made for the jaramatraca but writes that probably no household was without its supply of this root, regarded almost as a holy relic. A firm believer in the healing powers of the jaramatraca was Juan de Mendoza, Governor of Sonora, 1755 to 1760. Pfefferkorn says of him:

There was no better way to gain [Mendoza's] favor than to tell him, or deceive him, about some cure this root had worked. The good man believed everything without question. He was later [probably 1760]² shot by the Seri with a poisoned arrow, and died from the wound. . . . So at that time his "miracle root" must either have been powerless or very ungrateful to its zealous encomiast.

The *contra-yerba* was noted as an uncommonly effective antidote for the bites and stings of poisonous animals; the *mataduras* or wound-herb, healed saddle burns. The *toloache* was made use of a poultice or as a habit-forming drug. In its latter effect the Sonora natives utilized this plant for vanquishing their enemies. The *pasmo* herb cured nervous twitchings; the *anis* herb moderated fevers, and so made bleeding unnecessary. A kind of field-rose, the *chayotillo* flower, was applied as an emetic, though because of its extreme efficacy chayotillo decoctions were given in very small quantities. Other plants and herbs mentioned by Pfefferkorn served purposes similar to those mentioned above.

One of the more interesting remedies was Sonora gum, or rubber, the effectiveness of which as a remedy for hematemesis was apparently discovered by Pfefferkorn, in the 1760's.³ Pfefferkorn describes the gum as a "transparent, reddish-yellow resin, which is exuded from the twigs of a common bush." Since the gum was soluble in water, it had to be collected before the beginning of the rainy season in July. "Sonora gum" was so called

² Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States, 1531-1880*, San Francisco, 1884, I, 556 and footnote 10. Bancroft states that the only details of the governor's death are given in Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus*, III, 298, wherein it is explained that on November 25, 1760, Mendoza with a hundred men cornered a band of nineteen Seri Indians near Saracachi, and that the governor was struck by an arrow "discharged by the dying [Seri] chieftain." Pfefferkorn says that in 1761 the governor and some soldiers were attempting to capture a band of Seri horse thieves, that the Seri Indians greatly outnumbered the Spaniards, routed the latter, and that the governor, though only superficially wounded by an arrow later died from the terrible Seri poison.

³ Pfefferkorn calls Sonora gum, *gomilla de Sonora*.

because it was found only in Sonora, and there, only in the southwest section.⁴ Pfefferkorn states, further:

It was still unknown in Mexico City in 1764. I sent the first report of it there, and sent at the same time some of the rubber. The approval which it gained for itself in that city is evident from the fact that in the following year I was urgently requested to send as much as I could possibly get.

When it is dissolved in water and swallowed, this rubber is an excellent remedy for hemorrhages and bleeding. Even after the first swallow the patient is sometimes comforted, and the illness must be very stubborn if it proves necessary to take this drink three or four times. Here I refer in part to trustworthy testimony of very credible people, and in part to my own experience. After my return from America, while in Spain I made the last test with it. A friend of mine, an officer of a Swiss regiment, had such a severe hemorrhage that the skilled doctor in the port of Santa María at Cádiz seven times prescribed opening a vein for him. But this terrible butchery could not stop the hematemesis. I sent him a small piece of this rubber which one of my traveling companions had brought along. The officer took it on my recommendation and was well on the same day.

Here, Pfefferkorn takes occasion to criticize the Spaniards for failing to exploit the medicinal properties of herbs found in Sonora. He remarks:

It is in truth to be regretted that this remedy [Sonora gum], as well as many other very valuable ones, with which Sonora is enriched by nature, is not made known more widely in the world. This is no work for a missionary, who, far from having the time to undertake such labor, is kept busy almost beyond his strength with the care of the bodies and souls of his Indians. Skilled men, well-versed in this branch of learning, must be commissioned to write a detailed description of all such healing remedies after industrious investigation and exact observation. However, that is too much to ask of the Spaniards.

Sonora gum was useful also as a remedy for hydrophobia, though a draught of monks' rhubarb was even better in such cases. The rather indefinite description of monks' rhubarb given

⁴ See also *Aus dem Tagebuch des mexicanischen Missionarius Gottfr. Bernh. Middendorff, 1754-1776* (edited in scrap-book form, in the library of the Ignatiushaus, Bonn, Germany). Middendorff states: "Sonora gum is a sap which issues through the bark of a particular shrub which is called *torote*, as I remember it. The gum becomes as hard if not harder than resin; when it is crumbled it assumes the hardness of other gum. It is brown in color. If it is dissolved in water, the water becomes reddish in color. A piece the size of a thumb dissolved in water and drunk is a remedy for hematemesis, and I freed myself of this evil with the drink."

in the *Description* suggests inevitably that here the missionary is referring not to a plant or herb but to human excrement.⁵ One of Father Pfefferkorn's Indians alone, besides himself, knew the secret of preparing the rhubarb potion. Pfefferkorn states that one time this Indian was saved from madness by partaking of the rhubarb "although he well knew the ingredients of the draught."

Finally, under healing plants and herbs are mentioned *remolino* [probably a kind of moss], which was burned to produce an incense or vapor for the curing of head colds and for purposes of fumigation, and the Puebla herb, used as a laxative. The latter, so named because found in the vicinity of Puebla de los Angeles, was also employed by stockmen to poison predatory animals. The dried plant was grated, mixed with ox-flesh, and hung in the sun for a couple of days. When ready, the preparation was sprinkled in the fields where marauding animals would encounter it. "Once," says Pfefferkorn, "I counted two hundred or more coyotes, two bears, and five wolves, which had thus swallowed death."

The mineral kingdom of Sonora, too, yielded remedies for various ailments. The Seri stone, a green pebble called *chiquiquite* by the Seri Indians, was believed by Sonora Spaniards to aid in arresting hemorrhages. Sonora was deemed fortunate also in that it provided the right conditions for the production of the famous bezoar "stone," a concretion found in the stomach and intestines of certain animals. In Sonora, bezoar was used with happy results "in virulent epidemics, in treating melancholia, and for other things."

Pfefferkorn himself discovered in Sonora a special type of stone known in Spain as the *piedra cuadrada* because of its cubical shape. This stone was prescribed for checking diarrhoea, and even for easing a woman in childbed. While in Spain Pfefferkorn had first learned of the quadrate stones and had later with diffi-

⁵ See also Don Francisco Javier Clavigero, S.J., *The History of [Lower] California*, translated and edited by Sara E. Lake and A. A. Gray, Stanford University Press, 1937, 393, Appendix A. "Experiments and observations which Father Inamma, a German Jesuit missionary in that peninsula, made on the snakes of that peninsula." P. Clavigero, in a discussion of remedies used in California for snake bite, says that "The most usual and efficacious internal one is *teriac humana*, or human excrement, which they make the bitten person drink, when it is fresh and dissolved in water. This drink, although loathsome, is taken without repugnance because of love of life; besides, since the people bitten are almost frantic because of confusion and fear, they are not accustomed to notice what is given them, as an Indian bitten by a snake confessed to Father Inamma after his recovery."

culty located some such in Mexico City at the shop of an apothecary who, "out of kindness," sold him one at a reduced price of eight rix-dollars. The stones he subsequently discovered in Sonora were just like the costly stone he had purchased in Mexico and were, as experiments convinced him, fully as efficacious. These native Sonora vegetable and mineral remedies were supplemented for the missionary by medicines sent to him from Mexico City. Medicines are among the items listed by Pfefferkorn in his expense account of purchases made annually by all the Sonora Jesuits through the Jesuit factor, or purchasing agent, who resided in Mexico City.⁶

Final adjunct to the priest's dispensary was a book written by a Moravian Jesuit named Johann Steinefer. This Jesuit lay-brother had been sent from the Bohemian Province to Mexico in 1697. During some nineteen years service in the Mexican missions culminating in his death in Sonora in 1716, he acquired great fame as a surgeon and apothecary. He wrote a medical anthology which he dedicated to all his brother Jesuits, particularly to those who were missionaries in the "provincias remotas." The work, a quarto volume of five hundred and twenty-two pages was first published in Mexico in 1712. Other editions appeared in 1719, 1729, 1732, and 1755; a final edition was printed in 1888.⁷ The work dealt specifically with diseases which were endemic to New Spain. Its prescription of household remedies for such maladies made it especially practicable.

To the modern reader it appears that in his description of Sonora illnesses Pfefferkorn does not differentiate between the symptoms and the illnesses themselves. Headache, chills and fever, and sore-throat, are listed in the same category with smallpox and other contagious sicknesses. The most common Sonora ailments Pfefferkorn asserts to be inflammatory fever and ague. The former was believed to be caused by the heat of the sun; hence, foreigners were deemed especially susceptible to it. Ague resulted from drinking unhealthful water; that is, water

⁶ See Theodore E. Treutlein, "The Economic Regime of the Jesuit Missions in Eighteenth Century Sonora," *Pacific Historical Review*, VIII (September 1939), 289-300.

⁷ Juan de Esteyneffer, S. J., *Florilegio medicinal de todas las enfermedades, sacado de varios, y clasicos autores, para bien de los pobres, y de los que tienen falta de medicos, en particular para las provincias remotas, en donde administran los RR. PP. misioneros de la Compania de Jesus*, Mexico, 1712. Anton Huonder, S. J., *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg i. Breisgau, 1899, 116. Huonder speaks of Esteyneffer as Brother Johann Steinefer, a native of Iglau, Moravia, whose medical handbook was printed in Madrid and in Amsterdam, as well as in Mexico.

taken from brooks flowing in swampy ground. There was no ague in southern Sonora where the brooks flowed over gravel and stones, thus purifying themselves. One could contract ague also by allowing rain-soaked clothes to dry on him or by getting his feet wet. Pfefferkorn allowed his feet to hang in the water while crossing a stream and was stricken with ague as a consequence. An ague of long duration sometimes degenerated into consumption (*Auszehrung*).

Among other Sonora sicknesses noted was sore-throat, called by the Spaniards *garrotillo* (quinsy). Lacking timely treatment the afflicted one might choke from this evil. *Empacho* was also much dreaded by the Sonorans. Its cause was indigestion which attacked a stomach weakened by excessive drinking of water during the hot season. The weakened organ then "lacked the strength and warmth necessary to digest foods." The illness progressed from a continuous stomach-ache, accompanied by nausea, to severe diarrhoea.

Inflammatory fevers were frequently accompanied by *pasmo* [convulsions] often in recurrent seizures. Death ensued in severe cases. Sudden attacks of palsy and sometimes blindness resulted from cold air penetrating pores opened by perspiration. This malady, known as *mal aire*, was thought by Pfefferkorn to be the result not so much of the penetration of bad air into one's pores as of the combination of such circumstance with an already weakened condition in the afflicted person. "Otherwise," he adds, "almost no day would pass without revealing one of these tragedies, since in such a warm country one can so easily and quickly expose oneself to this misfortune."

The Sonora natives were apparently a pretty healthy lot. Pfefferkorn writes:

The Spaniards are much more subject to all these sicknesses and misfortunes than are the Indians. The latter have much sturdier bodies than the Spaniards because they have been hardened against wind and weather from childhood. For the most part, they have clean blood and healthy humors, and because of this they suffer from fewer diseases.

Another circumstance contributing not a little to the Indians' lack of susceptibility to disease is the fact that they are in general free of *lues venerea*, which is very common and widely distributed among all the other classes of people in America.⁸ However, this contagion does

⁸ Carl Sauer, "Aboriginal Population of Northwestern Mexico," *Ibero-Americana*: 10, University of California Press, 1935, 3, footnote 5. In speaking of sedentary agricultural populations Sauer says: "The only reference

not cause the mischief in America that it does in Europe. Many of those afflicted with it in America are assisted by the mildness of the climate and live for a long time despite their ailing circumstances, unless they are at some time attacked by another serious illness which their weakened constitution and sickly bodies cannot then withstand.

But there were exceptions to the generalization that Indians had greater natural immunity to disease than Spaniards. In 1760, for example, there appeared in Sonora a contagion which seized Indians and Spaniards without distinction. Pfefferkorn describes the course of this sickness in the following words:

The victim at first felt an extraordinary bodily lassitude and a particular decline in spirit. There followed very severe pains in all members and in the head, besides an almost unbearable heaviness and an uncomfortable giddiness. Though fortunately accompanied by only a slight fever this dizziness was such that it was hardly possible for the victim to stand up. All desire to eat and drink departed. It was noticed besides that people who did not give in to the malady but forced themselves to stay on their feet were rid of it in three or four days. Those, on the other hand, who were too soft or too weak to bear up under the indisposition and went to bed had the malady much more severely; they were plagued by it for ten or twelve days or even longer, and were left in such a miserable condition that they did not completely recover for a long time. The number of fatalities, however, was not great; only people who were already weakened either by great age or by some other sickness died.

In 1765 occurred another contagion which spread into Sonora from the "southern part of New Spain." Because the disease appeared in the month of June when the south winds blow, the winds were blamed for its spread.

The contagion announced itself by such severe head and body pains that even the strongest man was unresistingly laid low. There followed a very high fever which in most cases caused delirium. If the patient began to vomit, all hope for his recovery was lost. It was an infallible sign of approaching recovery when blood began to drip from his nose and ears. Those, however, to whom nature denied this outlet were in the most extreme danger, and few such were saved.

I have seen is a remark by Father Pfefferkorn, missionary among the Pima in the mid-eighteenth century, that these Indians had little venereal infection." Pfefferkorn's generalization is interesting in comparison with S. F. Cook's conclusion about venereal disease in Baja California. See "The Extent and Significance of Disease among the Indians of Baja California, 1697-1773," *Ibero-Americana*: 12, University of California Press, 1937, 30. "On the whole it is probably safe to conclude that syphilis did not achieve menacing proportions before 1740, after which time it rapidly attracted the attention of the missionaries."

This contagion caused the death of many people in Sonora; whole families were exterminated, and some villages were almost depopulated.

I was particularly fortunate in that this horrible contagion killed only eighteen persons in my mission. I had the happy thought of refreshing the sick with lemon or orange juice mixed with sugar and water. My idea was prompted by the following incident, which I heard of in 1756 in the city of Mexico. In the capital and surrounding areas there had been some years before such a fearful epidemic that it had in two or three months destroyed eighty thousand people. The doctors did not recognize the sickness; all their knowledge was exhausted, and no remedy had been found to prevent mortality. Finally, they performed an autopsy on one of the deceased and found a fairly large, thick worm in his stomach. They believed they had discovered in this worm the origin of the sickness. Different medicines were poured on the worm, but none killed it. At length a lemon was squeezed on it, and it died in a few moments. Lemon juice was immediately used with the sick, and all recovered. That is the story told me in Mexico. Because I found some similarities in the cases of the two epidemics I was prompted to use the same remedy for my patients, with the assurance that at least it would not be injurious to them. And with my simple remedy I really had the pleasure of curing most of them and finally of curing myself, since I, too, was overcome by the same illness.

Recovery from the foregoing disease was a very slow process accompanied oftentimes by distressing relapses.

The plague most greatly feared was smallpox. Nine or ten years might elapse between visitations of the dread epidemic, but when it arrived the population in general, but especially the Indian population, suffered a terrible mortality. The Indians suffered most, it was believed, because the toughness and thickness of their skins hindered the irruption of the pustules and hence caused the retention of poison in the body. Aside from smallpox, inflammatory fever, and ague, Pfefferkorn says "other sicknesses which cause so many deaths in Europe are unknown in Sonora. In the eleven years I knew only one Spaniard to die of dropsy, and he had perhaps brought the basis for the illness with him into the country. No one in Sonora has any idea what gout, sciatica, and apoplexy are."

Various native remedies were prescribed for the above-mentioned sicknesses. Pfefferkorn cured himself of a six months' siege of ague by consuming a large watermelon. Eating of the melon was followed by repeated vomiting and then by recovery. The jaramatracá root was also prescribed as a remedy for ague.

Inflammatory sicknesses were relieved by the anis herb, and also Pfefferkorn records that he cured a Spanish woman of a terrible fever by permitting her to eat a watermelon. His observations are not without scientific caution.

As I sat at her bedside to hear her confession, the almost burning heat which was enervating her became unbearable to me and made it necessary for me to move my chair somewhat from her bed. At the end of the confession I learned from her that an old woman to whom much knowledge about healing the sick was ascribed had brought various hot drinks to her, just as though one would wish to extinguish fire with oil. Certainly, it was a wonder that the poor sick woman still lived.

By chance I saw a splendid watermelon in the room and asked her if she did not wish to eat some of it. With a fervent sigh she expressed her desire for it, at the same time her fear of cooling things. I relieved her of the fear the old quack had instilled in her and gave her just as much of the melon as she wished. After she had eaten with relish somewhat more than half of it, she was cheerful and felt that the terrible fever was broken. Some days later the fever disappeared and the outcome showed that my advice had not been harmful. However, it is not my purpose to mention the watermelon as a trustworthy remedy for fevers. I would only make myself ridiculous in the eyes of the doctors. Yet this incident does prove that melons are cooling, an effect which is beneficial in many sicknesses.

Sore-throat was cured by the use of a thick maize poultice. *Empacho* was "driven away" by partaking a draught composed of a small amount of indigo dissolved in urine. For convulsions, a decoction of the *yerba del pasmo* was prescribed. *Mal aire* was treated by placing the patient in a well-protected room where no draughts could reach him. Then a perspiration was induced in him by warming the room, covering him heavily with warm covers, and forcing him to drink large amounts of a tea made of pasmo roots. Meanwhile, the room was fumigated with *remolino*. The *hedionda* or stinking herb, noted for its vile odor, was used for worming children.

The effort expended by the missionaries in healing sick Indians was considered by them to be almost as important a part of their duties as looking after the Indians' souls. The priest in the rôle of physician was in a wider sense a civilizing force, intent upon healing, intent also upon inducing in the callous native a feeling of sympathy for those made miserable by sickness or injury.

From all descriptions the plight of a sick Indian must indeed

have been a pitiable one. We feel the priest's sense of profound disquietude when he writes:

One cannot imagine more distressing circumstances than those surrounding a sick Sonoran. His bed is the hard earth. There he lies, completely abandoned to his fate. No one attends him. What is more, sometimes no one even gives him food or drink. His wife places at his side a *corita* [a small, tightly-woven basket] filled with water, and another with *atole*, leaves him and often does not go to him for half a day. The husband treats his wife in the same way, as does the mother her children and they their parents. Sonorans are without affection, and are insensitive to the suffering of those with whom nature has so closely allied them.

Certain comments made by Pfefferkorn about the Sonora natives should be cited here.⁹ He states that

in Sonora, as everywhere, there are large, medium-sized, and small people, but the latter are in the minority. Most Sonora men could appear honorably among the grenadiers in Europe. As a rule they possess healthy, strong, sturdily-built, and finely-shaped bodies. During my eleven years stay in Sonora I cannot remember having seen a single cripple, and this was the more surprising to me, because of the carelessness of mothers in raising their children. All grew up beautiful and straight. Sonorans always walk with erect bodies, and carry their heads high, a habit which they retain in their old age. . . . Their bodily constitution is strong, enduring, and free from the many defects and weaknesses to which we Europeans are so often subject. Hence, a life of one hundred years or even longer is not rare among them. The main reason for this longevity seems to me to be the continual use of simple and natural nourishment. We Europeans, on the other hand, weaken our health with our artificial and always varying foods, prepared with hot spices.

The Sonora natives did not exert themselves in caring for their health, though they apparently knew of certain remedies which they made use of upon occasion. Headaches were treated with cold water or wet clay plastered on the head. A more drastic cure was blood-letting, effected by tearing the skin at the temples with an arrow point. An aching tooth was forced out

⁹ Pfefferkorn does not tell the reader the name or names of the Sonora natives to which his generalizations apply. His eleven missionary years were spent at mission Ati, among the Pima, and at mission Cucurpe, among the Opata. However, at Ati were considerable numbers of Papago; while among the Opata at Cucurpe lived large numbers of the Eudebe tribe. It is probable, therefore, that though he meant his generalizations to include all of the above-named, one is at least safe in allowing them to apply to the Opata and Pima Indians.

of the head by holding a notched stick against it and pounding on the end of the stick with a stone. This method of tooth extraction was as effective though not so speedy a one as that devised by a Sonora Spaniard who, according to Pfefferkorn, shot an aching tooth out of his head by tying one end of a string around the tooth, the other end to a musket ball, and discharging the musket.

Though the Sonorans generally allowed nature to take its course in matters of health and sickness there were Indian medicine men upon whom many natives relied for help. These native physicians were angrily termed "quacks" and "wicked impostors" by the missionaries. The medicine men claimed to understand the art of curing all sicknesses but demanded payment in advance for their services. Since they were paid in food stuffs, they catered to those Indians whose stores of grain were the most plentiful.

The medicine men used various remedies, sometimes bringing real relief through administering native herbs. But generally they resorted to hocus-pocus methods to exorcise the evil. Sucking and blowing on the afflicted part of the body through a tube was a favorite procedure. Sometimes smoke from the Sonora tobacco was blown through reeds on ulcers or wounds. Any accidental cures which the Indian medicine men might achieve were resented by the missionaries, for the latter strove constantly to weaken the prestige of these so-called quacks. The animosity of the missionaries toward the medicine men was heightened by the latter's claim that they enjoyed the aid of *Muhaptura* [the murderer], a kind of a devil-dog. To combat the evil influence of the medicine men missionaries at times found opportunities to have them publicly punished.

There were quacks among the Sonora Spaniards, as well as among the Indians, however. Pfefferkorn recalls with horror the suffering he experienced at the hands of a masseur who was said to be skilled in curing *empacho* by massaging the patient's stomach. "Hardly, however, had the quack begun his operations than I became certain that under his hands I would give up the ghost. I thanked him for his services and sought milder remedies, by means of which I recovered."

It is evident that such a priest as Father Pfefferkorn had to overcome many serious obstacles in striving to cure his Indians and Spanish charges from the variety of sicknesses to which Sonorans were subject. He had to compete with the medicine men and prove that his medicine was better than theirs. He had

to exercise his ingenuity and use his "common sense" to supplement his own meager medical knowledge. Perhaps, above all, he had to come with a natural indifference to matters of health on the part of the natives. Pfefferkorn tells more than once of the coaxing wheedling, and insisting necessary to overcome the reluctance of the natives toward taking his remedies.

He had also to respond without fail when summoned to the bedside of a sick Indian. Day or night, no matter what the weather, the priest would swing into the saddle and start off on his errand of mercy. On one occasion Pfefferkorn was called to an Indian who lay prostrate. Only the native's feeble pulse gave evidence that he still lived. In this crisis the priest's knowledge of Sonora habits of living came to his rescue. He explains that it was *pechita* time in Sonora; that is, June, when the Indians gorged themselves on *pechita*, the fruit of the mesquite tree.

I suspected that the Indian's condition had resulted from excessive indulgence, especially since I observed that his stomach was stretched like a drum. I, therefore, tickled his throat with a small feather until he made a movement to vomit, which he proceeded to do so vigorously, throwing up such a quantity of still undigested *pechita* that I could not understand how the stomach could have contained such a tremendous mass. The sick one recovered consciousness immediately and when he saw me and some Indians about him he was so ashamed that without saving a word he ran away immediately.

In spite of his success in curing the sick there was at least one prescription which only the iron perserverance of the priest succeeded in forcing upon the natives. This horror was the enema. Pfefferkorn states:

Nothing, however, was so distasteful and unbearable to them as the use of an enema. This I discovered myself when for the first time I prescribed the cure for a sick Indian. I sent to him a Spaniard who had volunteered his services for this work and who had been trained for it. Hardly had the Indian perceived the Spaniard's intention when he began to yell at the top of his voice and to resist with might and main. I was finally called to the sick person myself and tried at the greatest length to prevail upon him. All persuasion was in vain. At last I had to call upon four strong Indians to hold him down until the operation was completed. The results were so good that the sick person soon entirely recovered his health. The success of this treatment on the one mentioned and other similar occasions did away with my Indians' adhorrence of this cure and gave them such faith in it that many of them came to me and requested enemas for headaches and other pains.

When a sick person was visited the priest had to leave nourishment at the patient's bedside and make arrangements for someone to attend him, since the traditional practice was for even his closest of kin to shun him during his illness. In the villages the priests attempted to change this barbaric custom by appointing special Indian officers, one of whose duties it was to look after the sick. These officers were known as *mayoris (sic)*, Indians whose reputations were such that they could be expected to be faithful and diligent. The *mayori* made daily rounds, visiting each house in the village to see if anyone were ill. Sickness was immediately reported to the priest who then acted as the needs of the situation prompted.

Besides laboring with the Indians in his mission district, each Sonora missionary watched over Spaniards who lived scattered throughout Sonora. Pfefferkorn reports that the Sonora Spaniards were the parishioners of a single parson, whose usual place of residence was the presidio of San Miguel, headquarters also of the governor of Sonora. This single clergyman's parish embraced in circuit over two hundred Spanish miles. "Pity the poor sick ones," says Pfefferkorn, "if they had had to await his assistance." Thus, in addition to ministering to the physical and spiritual wants of his Indians, the missionary watched over the garrisons and the *reales de mines* lying nearest his mission. There is a note of bitterness in Pfefferkorn's reference to the Spanish pastor when he writes: "The only thing which the Spaniards' own pastor did was to travel annually through Sonora, visit his fellow parishioners, and collect the surplice fees which the missionaries had earned during the year." But he has a kinder word for the *criollo* womenfolk, many of whom made it "their duty to look after the sick, even those who were not their kinsmen, with the greatest possible care and love."

Father Pfefferkorn's interest in improving the physical as well as the spiritual life of the Indians under his care moved him to record in his *Description* various observations about native life and population statistics which are valuable as anthropological data. His remarks concerning marriage and the rearing of children, death and burial, though fragmentary, provide us with some idea of the life cycle of the Sonora native as seen through the eyes of the "physician" priest.

The Sonorans married "as soon as they were able to do so." To the Sonora woman, pregnancy and child-bearing were a routine matter. Let the Jesuit missionary speak on these subjects.

From pregnancy to the last days before giving birth the Sonora women have not the least anxiety about their unborn. They avoid neither danger nor heavy exertions, yet very rarely does an unfortunate birth occur. The birth of a dead or deformed child is extremely rare. When childbirth approaches, Sonora women look for an isolated place. This they do because of a kind of superstition, for they imagine that the proximity of child-bearing women will cause misfortune to their men, and also bring harm to the sick and wounded.¹⁰ The birth is accomplished easily and happily without the help of anyone. After the child is born the mother bathes herself and the child in the nearest water, fetches wood from the forest, and as before performs all the usual work. With all this, the mother remains healthy and well.

Sonora babies were never pampered.

The cradle of Sonora children is the hard earth. On it the completely naked infants lie or roll about like puppies. When the mother goes to the forest, into the field, or elsewhere, she ties the child fast to her back with an old rag or a leather strap. She walks with it this way and goes about everything she has to do without the least anxiety for the child. Only when it has screamed and cried long enough to make known its needs does she untie it and give it milk. Some mothers do this with the greatest convenience by throwing their extremely long breast over the shoulder to the child. Despite the fact that with this treatment the children endure much bumping and pushing, and must suffer much discomfort, the Sonorans are in general well built, strong people, and there is scarcely to be seen among them a feeble or a deformed person.

Of great concern to the missionaries was the Indian practice of tatooing children, especially girl babies, when they reached the age of one year. The mother performed the operation, piercing with a thorn the child's skin on the forehead, cheeks, lips, around the eyes, and sometimes also on the arms and the chest. The thorn pricks, rubbed with charcoal dust, were arranged in close rows, representing various figures. Since tatooing endangered the lives of infants the priests spared no effort to abolish the custom, especially among their new converts, but it still existed at the time of the expulsion.

Children were cared for by the mother—the father disregarded their very existence—until they could get around and gather food for themselves. From that day on they were left to their own devices. His comments indicate that Pfefferkorn was

¹⁰ Pfefferkorn also speaks of a "superstition" (*sic*) that "the women must remain in an isolated place away from the company of other people during their menstrual period. In various places in the fields there were little huts designed for this sojourn. I had some of them destroyed."

not so censorious of the parental neglect as he was of the bad examples which the elders by their actions set for the children in whom they had ceased to be interested. But his expostulations on this subject are those of spiritual guide, not "physician."

During his eleven years in Sonora Pfefferkorn many times had the experience of being at the side of a Sonoran who closed his Christian life in an edifying way leaving the priest with confident hope for the eternal salvation of the deceased. However, most of the Indians, Christian or heathen, died as they lived, tranquilly and indifferently. Again it is the spiritual guide rather than the "physician" who is oppressed by such indifference and finds its source in "a lifelong animal-like manner of existence which causes the mind to become so obdurate that even death, floating before their eyes, makes no impression on them" or in a "coarse and criminal ignorance which suppresses the reason and bars entrance of all wholesome ideas."

After a death, women lamenters among the relatives of the deceased assembled about the body of the corpse and emitted a low-toned piteous howling, "hau, hau," which resembled "bellowing more than weeping." But of tears there was not a trace, neither among the lamenters nor among other relatives. Indeed, the appearance of grief or of stimulated grief was apparently utterly absent whether at the time of death, during the bewailing ceremony, or at burial. The corpse was buried in a grave which was about "two ells square and about three ells deep."

The body was lowered into this grave in an upright sitting position. The tomb was not filled with earth, but covered with a roof, and the inner grave left unfilled. The roof consisted of thick pieces of wood placed one alongside the other, the spaces between being tightly filled with twigs. The covering was then heaped over with earth, forming a sort of mound. Inside the pit, beside the body, were placed a vessel full of *pinole*, a jug of water, weapons, and whatever else the deceased had used during his life—just as if these things could still serve him in the other world. I find no other reason which could have misled the Sonoras to such a custom. It seems to me to be a strong proof that they had some notion of the immortality of the soul, although this idea was obscure and mixed with absurdity.

The death and burial of a Sonora native suggests another subject which has always been of the greatest interest to students of aboriginal populations; namely, the relationship existing between the advent of the white man and the diminution in numbers of the native stock. That there exists a relationship is, of course, indisputable, but quantitative studies are very diffi-

cult to make and at best lead only to tentative conclusions. It is, therefore, of importance to notice the conjectures provided by Father Pfefferkorn on the subject of the causes for the decline in Indian population since the coming of the Spaniards to Sonora.

The reader will be interested to learn whether the number of Indians in Sonora has increased or decreased since the establishment of the missions. Concerning this subject I tell what I have learned from my own experience and what I know from the testimony of missionaries who lived in Sonora during my time, and some of whom spent twenty, thirty, and more years in the spiritual care of the Indians. All of them agree unanimously with me that the number of Indians was growing ever smaller. The general opinion was that during a period of sixty or seventy years Sonora had lost more than half of its population.

Of the name and the existence of the Guayma, who once inhabited three or four villages on the sea coast, only a memory remains. Concerning the apostate Seri, Father Nicolas Perera, who with three other missionaries had administered to the spiritual care of this people and who in my time still lived in the mission of Aconzi, reckoned the number of this nation before their revolt at from nine to ten thousand souls.

Father Kino, Agustín de Campos, and other earlier missionaries testify that the Upper Pimas were so numerous at the end of the last century that all their villages were well-populated. However, by the year 1760 there was noticeable everywhere a considerable decline in population. This was seen very clearly by the baptismal and death lists which were prepared every year in each mission. The number of deaths was always greater than the number baptized. The villages of the Opata, the Eudebe, and the Lower Pima were also no longer as populous as they had been in former times. Regarding the still unconverted Indians inhabiting the banks of the Gila and Colorado rivers, both Father Kino in former times, and Father Sedelmayr in recent times, have assured us that these tribes also show a declining population.

There is no doubt that frequent wars of long duration have destroyed large numbers of people among the various Sonora nations. Likewise, their ranks are thinned by small-pox and other epidemics which at times rage in Sonora. Such scourges almost completely depopulated Ocuca, Dolores, Tupo, Remedios, and other formerly pleasant and populous villages.

However, the decline in Indian population is not ascribable alone to the above-named causes. The Opata and Eudebe, and Upper and Lower Pima as well, were for a long time at peace. In the skirmishes which occurred between the converted and the wild Indians, the loss of life was seldom great, because all immediately took to their heels

as soon as one or more fell. Moreover, sometimes many years passed without the occurrence of a contagious epidemic. Yet it was clear that the population not only did not increase but, on the contrary, slowly decreased. The conjugal fertility of these Indians was, to be sure, generally not exceptional.¹¹ Whether their gradual decline in numbers resulted from infertility or from other causes, I do not know.¹²

Pfefferkorn has left notes on various insect, spider, and reptile pests of Sonora, as well as on plants, which, in one way or another, were considered harmful to man. His description of injuries attributed to all such pests is balanced with a list of remedies. It is reassuring in considering the usefulness of Pfefferkorn's *Description* to notice that he frequently "debunks" fantastic yarns about "dangers found on every hand" among the flora and fauna of Sonora, and that when he does accept an implausible story he attempts to give its source.

Among the insect pests of Sonora were the *garrapatas*, of large and small variety. The small *garrapata*, *poux de bois*, in French, was a wood tick which bored into the skin and had to be dislodged whole lest the head of the animal remain in the flesh and cause infection. This tick could be removed by rubbing the afflicted part with olive oil or grease, or by administering warm applications until the borer loosed its hold. The large *garrapata*, resembling a bedbug in appearance, was found indoors and caused trouble by getting into a person's ear and fastening itself to the outer ear passage as a blood-sucker. Easy and safe removal was effected by filling the ear with olive oil and floating the *garrapata* to within reach of a pair of tweezers.

Another skin borer was the *animalito vermejo*, the little red bug, a tiny flea-like insect, which infested the grassy meadows usually during the rainy season. Its presence was startlingly noted because "at the place where it has buried itself, one feels a fierce burning as if caused by a glowing coal." Scratching the point of irritation aggravated it; the remedy suggested by Pfefferkorn for getting rid of this borer was repeated vinegar applications.

¹¹ Pfefferkorn's *description* contains no reference to the size of Indian families. Sauer, "Aboriginal Population," *loc. cit.*, 2, takes an average of six to the aboriginal family.

¹² According to Cook, "The Extent of Disease," *loc. cit.*, 38-39, in Baja California "at least one-third and possibly one-half the population decline [i.e., 1697-1773] can be attributed to disease." Without a comparable study for Sonora it would be impossible to say whether the population decline spoken of by Pfefferkorn was to such a high percentage attributable to diseases introduced by the European as was evidently the case in Baja California.

Mosquito-netting was recommended for the large variety of mosquitoes and gnats which were especially troublesome at night.¹³ For the bite of the red ant which caused "inflammation, swelling, numbing, and great pain," he prescribes no remedy but states that "these effects diminish slowly after some hours."

As an introduction to his description of snakes of Sonora, Pfefferkorn states:

Hot countries are particularly plagued by poisonous animals. In Sonora they are so numerous that it can almost be said that hidden murderers sit under every stone in the field, among the tree branches and shrubs in the forest, and in nearly every nook in the house. It would hardly be possible to live in a land so full of horrors, if the benign foresight of the Creator did not give warning of the dangers in all kinds of ways and had He not provided the country with excellent herbs and plants for antidotes. Besides, a poisonous animal seldom harms a person unless it has first been injured by that person and is provoked to vengeance. Also, most of these animals are sluggish by nature and slow in their movements. Consequently, they are unable to turn speedily and to inflict a quick bite. Therefore, the danger of being harmed by them is not so immediate and unavoidable as one might imagine.

The poisonous snakes listed in the *Description* are the rattlesnake, coral snake, silent snake (*vibora sorda*) and the *vejuco* or *cuareque* snake (called thus from its resemblance to the trailing *vejuco* or *cuareque* plant which hangs down from trees, a feat which the snake duplicates).

Poisonous "insects" named by Pfefferkorn are the *escorpion*, *alacran* [scorpion], centipede, *salamanqueza*, *pinacate* beetle, *uvvari* spider, tarantula, and the chameleon. The *escorpion* is described as a lizard of greenish-yellow color, its head, tail, and feet being marked with narrow black stripes. This animal had the reputation for being very poisonous, but Pfefferkorn says he never heard of a fatality caused by an *escorpion* during the eleven years he was missionary in Sonora. There were four varieties of scorpion in Sonora, a black, dark red, brown, and yellow variety. These, especially the red scorpion, Pfefferkorn credits with being quite harmful to man, though he cites but one instance of a fatal sting ascribable to a scorpion, and that occurred in Durango, not in Sonora. He doubts the potency of centipede poison, stating: "In Sonora all who are bitten by the centipede are given up. I have never observed that so stern a judgment

¹³ Pfefferkorn names mosquitoes, *zancudos*, *gegenes*, and *mantas blancas*.

was warranted; neither have I ever heard of a person's being bitten by a centipede." His judgment is the same for the *salamancheza*, a lizard with white belly, dark green upper body, white dotted back and tail, and scale-encrusted feet.

The inhabitants of Sonora had an especial horror of the pinacate beetle, which resembled a dor-beetle in shape and color, though somewhat longer and thinner. Generally, it lived in houses, where in the Sonora manner, floors were neither wood nor stone, but bare, uncovered earth, or "where the broom stands untouched and dirt prevails." The pinacate's bite, according to the inhabitants, was not only poisonous but is also incurable.

I cannot believe the pinacate is as murderous as this. If it were one would see a corpse almost every day in Sonora, for in the pretty dwellings of Indians, as well as in the abodes of Spaniards (which are almost as filthy) there are almost always some of these little black animals promenading about. There would be ample opportunity for them to administer their fatal bite since Indians walk about barefoot and naked. Hence, I believe that more blame is attached to the pinacate than it really merits.

However, Pfefferkorn gave the pinacate credit for raising its back when molested and releasing a disagreeable odor.

He calls the *uvuri* spider "a coal-black, very ugly little animal," extremely dangerous company, and admonishes one to sweep it out of the house at first sight.¹⁴ The tarantula, the most common variety brownish-black in color, others dark yellow, sprinkled with black spots, was repulsive to Pfefferkorn because it was "the most horribly ugly animal which one can possibly imagine." He considers it to belong to a different species from the "notorious Neopolitan tarantula." "At least," he says, "no one in Sonora, as a result of being bitten by this spider, has been known to have danced himself to death, which strange

¹⁴ See also Middendorff, *Aus dem Tagebuch*. "The *uvuri* is a very small black spider; its sting is deadly if one does not quickly use an antidote. The body becomes paralyzed, one is struck speechless, and bodily warmth is replaced by the cold of death. Once I saw a man who had been stung by such a spider. As they were on the verge of burying the victim, a woman who had an understanding about the effects of such spider bites noticed that the victim's heart was beating, even though no one had noticed any breathing, either on a mirror or in any other way. The woman covered the man's body with slices of fresh cheese, the slices having first been well toasted on a fire until they were very hot. The hot cheese raised many blisters and pustules [on the victim], and when the cheese cooled fresh hot slices were applied. Finally the man began to revive. He opened his eyes, but stammered in his speech and spoke unintelligibly, like an intoxicated person. However, after two or three hours he regained his natural warmth, speech, and powers."

effect is widely attributed to the sting of the Apulian tarantulas."

The last-named "insect" is the chameleon, not a chameleon at all, says the priest, but misnamed by the Spaniards and also falsely accused by them of being a "murderer" though completely non-poisonous.¹⁵

Of the large number of antidotes and remedies which were considered efficacious in cases of bites and stings from poisonous animals Pfefferkorn mentions particularly the *jaramatraca*, *contra yerba*, Sonora rubber, the *pedra de ponzona*,¹⁶ cauterization, monks' rhubarb, and tobacco smoke.

Pfefferkorn's mention of tobacco smoke refers us to what appears to be a neat bit of rationalization on his part. He says:

Tobacco smoke is the best preventive antidote for all poisonous animals. It drives small ones from the room; it stuns larger ones so that they lie motionless and can do no harm. I learned this remedy from a Spaniard who persuaded even me to smoke every night before going to sleep. Faithfully and diligently I followed this advice, which was many times very useful to me. I was never attacked by a poisonous animal, even though once one of the most poisonous snakes, and another time a centipede, kept me company in bed. I ascribe this boon to tobacco, and still thank the honest Spaniard who gave me the wholesome advice.

Even with this rationalization, if such it was, Pfefferkorn reveals a certain scientific curiosity, for he describes an experiment which proved to him that scorpions could not tolerate tobacco smoke. He filled an inverted tumbler with tobacco smoke, placed the scorpion inside, and had the satisfaction of seeing the animal sting itself with the point of its own tail rather than endure the tobacco.

Pfefferkorn includes also in his *Description* notes on the poison used by the Seri Indians for preparing their arrows. He states that poisoned arrows made the Seri much feared, despite a reputation which the Indians had for being as timid as hares. The poison, as described by the missionary, was so deadly that the smallest wound from an arrow caused quick death. "At the

¹⁵ From notes in the *Description* it is likely that the "chameleon" here referred to is the familiar "horned-toad." The herdsmen of Sonora told Pfefferkorn that this lizard, if swallowed by a snake, had the remarkable ability of cutting its way out of the reptile by raising its horny collar and using it as a saw.

¹⁶ "Poison stone" anyone could prepare, according to Pfefferkorn "by placing a piece of hart's-horn in a new earthen pot over a low fire and roasting it slowly until it is all black and shiny. This is the so-called poison stone of Sonora. If it is applied immediately to a fresh wound, it draws out the poison and frees the patient from danger."

most," writes Pfefferkorn, "two days may elapse before the wounded person is a corpse." The flesh became coal-black, and fell from the bones in pieces, as though decayed. "The only method of preventing this horrible calamity, as far as is known, is to burn out the wound promptly with a fire brand, or red hot iron, before the venom has entered the body." This painful cure constituted the only hope of saving one's life.

The manner in which this death-dealing salve is prepared by the Seri is quite unusual. I describe it as it was told to me by my Indians, and by some Seri themselves. First they collect most painstakingly a large quantity of the poisonous juices from all kinds of the most malignant snakes, toads, scorpions, spiders, centipedes, and similar poisonous insects [*sic*]. To this are added some of the poisonous herbs known to the barbarians. Then, after all these horrible things are gathered in a large earthen vessel, the container is well covered and the cover carefully sealed all around with a glue, so that none of the strength of the inclosed brew may evaporate. The pot thus cautiously made ready is placed on a fire under the open sky, and the materials are cooked until it is thought that they have the strength necessary for use. Care of this murderous concoction devolves upon the oldest woman. Chosen for this purpose, she must sit by the fire, tending it diligently, and finally, when the salve is supposed to be sufficiently cooked, she must remove the pot from the fire and uncover it. The unfortunate old one who has surrendered herself cheerfully to her fate, hereupon becomes a sacrifice to her countrymen, for when the dish is uncovered the poisonous vapor which rises invariably kills her.

When the vapor has entirely dispersed, the pot become cold, and the danger passed, one of the Seri makes a test to determine whether or not the poison has the requisite strength. He makes a small cut in his hand and then holds near to the incision an arrow freshly smeared with the salve, being careful, however, not to let it touch the cut. If the blood oozing forth draws back, then the hellish brew is as it should be, and each Seri takes a part of it home with him to poison his arrows. Should this test fail, the vessel must again be placed on the fire, and another old crone procured to cook it again, and finally, when uncovering the vessel, she like the first must give up her life. However, this is very seldom necessary, and moreover, each time there is enough prepared to last for a long time.

Pfefferkorn names but few Sonora plants which to his knowledge were harmful to man. To be sure, he implies there were such, "poisonous herbs known to the barbarians," in speaking about the Seri poison, but specifically he names only the fruit of the *tuna* cactus, mescal root, and *yedra*. Tuna fruit, according to Pfefferkorn, had the evil reputation in Sonora for causing

ague. "I do not know whether one does it justice or injustice in believing this," he states. The priest probably considered the charge unjust for he describes tuna fruit as "sweet tasting, very juicy, and good to eat." Mescal root, pit roasted, was "very tender and as sweet as the best honey" and also "not only a pleasant but also a nourishing food." When one first ate the root, it caused "a somewhat troublesome diarrhoea," but "one has only to continue eating it boldly and the stomach becomes accustomed to it." Regarding *yedra*, however, Pfefferkorn states:

I never troubled myself particularly with acquiring information about poisonous plants. However, I wish here to mention a plant, which is well known to me, and whose very shadow seems to be poisonous. It is a kind of ivy, which is very similar to that which we know in Europe, and hence it is called ivy, *yedra*, in Spanish. It is found on old dead trees, to which it clings all over twined about branches and trunks. Accidental contact with this plant causes that part which has touched it to begin to swell immediately and to become greatly inflamed. Soon thereafter, unless it is treated in time with cooling packs, the poison spreads itself through the rest of the body. Yes, it is enough if one but sits beneath a tree and is shaded by it to contract the same effects from its poison, and it is even generally affirmed in Sonora that he who tarries under this shadow for too long will endanger his very life. This opinion is supported by examples of people who have been found dead under such trees. For this, then, the *yedra* is believed to be responsible; as if death could not have resulted from many other causes.

The details given above of Father Pfefferkorn's work as a "physician" among the Sonora natives, and of his notes on Sonora native life and plant and animal pests cannot properly be generalized to apply to Jesuit missionaries working in various other mission regions in the Americas. Yet, there is the fact that Pfefferkorn frequently uses a non-editorial "we" in speaking of the missionaries' efforts to heal the sick. He generalizes, too, concerning missionary expenditures for medicines, affirms the wide use made of Steinefer's anthology, and records the general agreement among Sonora Jesuits about the decline of Indian populations. Perhaps, then, we may consider his labors, conditioned by his individual mentality and particulars of his own mission existence, as conforming to a general pattern characteristic of the Jesuit missionary as a frontier civilizing force.

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Notes and Comment

STUDIES, PUBLICATIONS, SERIES

The Institute of Jesuit History of Loyola University, Chicago, has published the third of its publications, *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, by Jean Delanglez, S. J. Reviewers of the first of these works, *Some La Salle Journeys*, and *The Journal of Jean Cavelier*, welcomed them for their scholarship, for bringing new light and viewpoints on phases of colonial history, for opening avenues to new research projects on subjects considered by historians as rather finished, and for revealing source materials for more elaborate studies. Reviewers in this country, however, generally missed the significance seen in these works, especially in the first, by scholars of France and England, who just now are revising their treatments of the causes and occasions of the French-English wars as they arose in this continent over claims to territory by reason of say La Salle's explorations. Cartographical evidence and the documentary criticisms appear to have been appreciated by some of the historian reviewers but not altogether comprehended by them. Anthropologists have expressed themselves as pleased with the footnotes and criticisms for the information they give on source materials essential to anthropological studies and for eliminating from serious consideration names heretofore deemed ponderous with authority, such as Margry, Le Clercq, and Parkman. *Frontenac and the Jesuits* as a separate volume indicates the shallowness of the foundations of the French régime and displays the incompatible elements of the administration. The book might well have had several other titles descriptive of its contents, which pertain to the political, social, economic, and religious affairs of New France during the period of the first incumbency of Frontenac. The Jesuits are seen only in their relation to the programs of the French court and the fiery governor.

Other series of studies and publications are beginning or continuing.

The departments of history and political science of the University of North Carolina have resumed the publication of the James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science. The first number of Volume 23, *The Presidential Election of 1824 in North Carolina*, by Professor Albert Ray Newsome, is well-written and heavily documented.

Brother Gabriel Sagard's *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons* has just been expertly translated by H. H. Langston, introduced and edited by George M. Wrong, and published as Volume 25 of the *Publications of The Champlain Society of Toronto*. Sagard, a Recollect brother, recounts his personal experiences and observations in the Huron land in great detail.

The Mississippi Valley Press of Oxford, Ohio, organized to publish scholarly historical works, and interested in giving scholars an opportunity to make significant contributions to Americana, offers as its first publications *William Salter, Western Torchbearer*, by Philip D. Jordan, and *Thomas Riley Marshall, Hoosier Statesman*, by Charles H. Thomas.

Canadian-American Relations 1840-1847, by Lester B. Shippee, comes as one of a series of studies projected with the view to bring out all phases of the relations between Canada and the United States in a scholarly way. About thirty volumes will compose the series, sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and published at the Yale University Press.

The Early Years of Isaac Thomas Hecker (1819-1844), a dissertation by Rev. Vincent F. Holden, C. S. P., comes as Volume 39 of the Catholic University of America Studies in American Church History. The very interesting biography covers the period in the life of Hecker prior to his entrance into the Catholic Church. It is hoped that another volume will deal with the career of Father Hecker, as missionary, lecturer, and founder of the Missionary Society of St. Paul, or Paulist Fathers.

The Institute of Mediaeval Studies of St. Michael's College, Toronto, Canada, produced its first volume of scholarly research on subjects pertaining to the Middle Ages and edited documents.

There is promise of a twelve-volume work on "the Coronado country" as a fitting commemoration of the Coronado Cuarto Centennial. The volumes by capable historians of the Southwest are designed to cover the earlier history of the states of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas, on whose soil the great conqueror and explorer trod.

THE EIGHTH AMERICAN SCIENTIFIC CONGRESS

Announcement is made of the aims, purposes, and program of the Eighth American Scientific Congress to be held in Washington from May 10 to May 18. The purposes are to advance scientific thought and achievement and to assist in celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Pan American Union. Inter-American good will, neighborly relations, appreciations of the problems of the western hemisphere, and deeper understanding of one another on the part of the American Republics has been one of the great goals of the Department of State. The Congress is designed to offer inspiration toward the attainment of the ideal. The distinguished scientists and scholars of the two Americas will meet in eleven sections. It is expected that many papers will be submitted for publication if not for presentation by authorities of international renown. The disciplines of history and geography are combined into one section, whose topics for research and discussion are given tentatively as exploration, cartography, the

changing economic role of the Americas, population problems, social changes in Indian America, and phases of land occupance and the frontier. In the economic and sociology section representatives of each country are invited to present a systematic statement of the major problems of their respective countries. President Roosevelt will address the Congress and diplomatic representatives of the various countries at the formal opening ceremonies.

ANOTHER AMERICAN REVOLUTION

In July of 1938 the Department of State created the Division of Cultural Relations. Purpose: "To encourage and strengthen cultural relations and intellectual cooperation between the United States and other countries." The activities of the Division are supposed to extend to all countries of the world. The plan is to make people of the United States acquainted with the culture of foreign countries. The scope of the activities has been considerably narrowed owing to existing strifes in various portions of the world. In fact, at the Conference on Education called by the Department of State and held last November in Washington, Europe was definitely excluded as a region suitable for encouraging or strengthening any cultural or intellectual relations with the United States, while all emphasis was placed upon the necessity of welding together the Republics of the Western Hemisphere. To quote from the mimeographed "Principal Addresses, Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Education," Mr. Cordell Hull speaking: "It is possible that the great shadow which lies heavily over Europe may become a long twilight. It is not inconceivable that many of the lights of Western civilization may there be dimmed or altogether put out. It may even be that for a time the New World may have to guard and maintain the achievements of that civilization, holding them in trust for a time when they can once more be general throughout the world." In view of the present policy of our Government toward establishing hemispherical solidarity in the face of possible intrusions of dictatorship ideologies, in view of the recent endeavors of statesmen of the American Republics to isolate themselves from the European turmoil and to embark upon a program of cooperation toward peace by means of understandings rather than by balance of power, it seems that the Americans have declared another revolt against European thought, politics, diplomacy, ideologies, economies, and cultural trends.

ITEMS OF INTEREST

Ernest E. East, founder of the Peoria Historical Society, recently published a noteworthy contribution to *Lincolniana* under the title, *Abraham Lincoln Sees Peoria*. There are thirty-seven pages in triple columns and more than two-hundred fine historical illustrations, pho-

tographs, facsimiles, and autographs, backed by a serviceable index. Much of the text is documentary, many of the pictures rare, and if the brochure had been set up in book form a rather bulky volume would have emerged. The work, the findings after detailed research, and the general idea of the production are worth while and highly interesting.

From San Francisco comes a brochure in sixty-five pages, *The Birth of America*, by Camillus E. Branchi, of the University of San Francisco. Its purpose is to prove that Columbus hit upon San Salvador on October 13 rather than on October 12, 1492. The major proofs are three: from Columbus's key numbers, from calculation of the time solar elapsed between leaving Palos to his arrival at the farthermost point of his voyage, and from the apparent and true solar time elapsing from September 9 to October 12. Bishop Las Casas is the basic authority for October 12. A list of manuscript sources and historical works of early writers is given. Of the 133 authorities so tabulated, 49 give no date for the discovery, 4 do not mention the discovery, 33 give only the year 1492, 6 give other years with no date, 2 give October 10, and 9 give October 11, 1492, twenty-seven give various days of navigation, and only one gives October 13, 1492. No one gives October 12.

The Historical Bulletin (St. Louis University) for March 1940 devotes its pages to a symposium on the Society of Jesus, carrying six articles on various phases of Jesuit activities during the four hundred years elapsed since the foundation of the Order in 1540.

Book Reviews

Democracy Today and Tomorrow. By Eduard Benes. Macmillan Company, New York, 1939. Pp. xiv+244.

This volume represents a compilation of the lectures given at an American university by a former president of Czechoslovakia. In addition to the lectures proper, it contains an appendix which contains various appeals made by Eduard Benes to various nations, to the League of Nations, and to the American people as such. The author's desire is: "... to explain briefly the nature of the whole spiritual and political crisis of present day Europe, as it strikes us in all the current events of internal and external life in the main European nations; ... to show how Europe, from the times of the American and French revolutions, fought relentlessly for democracy, and how the whole of the nineteenth century is filled by a hard struggle with all the political and moral problems with which democracy is today confronted" (p. vi).

Democracy Today and Tomorrow is a concrete example of the deplorable results almost invariably attendant upon the efforts of a non-historian to write what is intended to be substantially history. It is quite possible that Dr. Benes is a political scientist of merit, but his disregard for hard facts will bar him definitely from the circle of reputable historians. The book is filled with generalizations, whose cardinal defect is the lack of truth. To one who wishes an inclusive, but inaccurate, account of Europe's progress toward a degree of self-government, this book can be unqualifiedly recommended.

The writer makes no effort to conceal his disdain for everything associated in any way with organized religion, or for that matter, with Christianity. The delineation of the medieval man is an example of this ill-concealed hostility. Throughout the book there is nothing to indicate that democracy owes anything to Christianity; nothing to indicate that the principles of Christianity should penetrate the warp and woof of modern society; nothing to indicate that religion and morality are necessary for the well-being of the state, as was maintained by at least one rather prominent American some decades ago.

The hostility toward any contributions made by Christianity are followed by encomiums heaped upon the French Revolution. Dr. Benes thinks all important world history dates from the period of the French Revolution. He enthusiastically writes: "It was the triumph and the freedom of conscience, science and research, the triumph of rationalism as a philosophical method and system against the old medieval scholastic philosophy, Catholic theology and religious intolerance" (p. 7). To make himself even more clear, he adds: "It gave vivid actualization to spiritual, intellectual, and religious freedom and to the whole principle of toleration and free discussion"

(p. 7). As though the situation had not by this time become ridiculous enough, the author then proceeds (p. 8), to identify practically Sieyes, Paine, Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Adams, and Jefferson. Throwing people of such diverse viewpoints into the same category makes the entire proposition so ridiculous that no thoughtful and reasoned refutation can be made. It is much as though some one had stated that Tom Thumb served as the second president of the United States and also commanded the Confederate forces at Vicksburg in 1863. Some statements are simply beyond the reach of rational criticism, which presupposes a certain amount of basic knowledge on the part of all concerned. When contradictory statements make evident a lack of such knowledge, it is best to let the matter rest.

When dealing with material which he has studied and experienced, Dr. Benes writes in a manner which is much more convincing. The section on the "Downfall of Postwar Democracies" (pp. 53-93), will perhaps be considered the best part of the book by many readers. Analyses are presented of the various 'isms' of Europe, and their respective roles in lessening the influence of democracy are evaluated. In noting the undesirable features of Communism, for example, we observe that its hostility to religion is nowhere mentioned. As a matter of fact, it would seem that the downfall of democracy in many parts of Europe was to be expected, if its advocates there could make out no stronger case for it than that advanced by Dr. Benes. Recent operations of 'democracies' entirely devoid of Christian principles are sorry affairs. The author gives no reason why anyone should practice unselfishness in his activity as a citizen. The cheap materialism which runs through this type of democracy is little improvement upon the materialism of Communism. In Communism as advocated by Lenin we have government without God; in democracy as advocated by Benes we also have government without God. To this reviewer, at least, one seems about as repulsive as the other.

The section on the League of Nations (pp. 93-137), is a sustained and querulous complaint because the larger nations of the world, particularly the so-called democracies, did not guarantee the territorial boundaries as determined at Versailles. Dr. Benes had hoped that the League would be an organ of democracy. He states that the lack of faith which one nation had in another was largely instrumental in bringing about the disintegration of the League. He defends the inefficiency of the League on the score that it was new and therefore in an experimental stage. But once more, the author practically admits that there are no fixed standards of right and wrong, and gives no reason why a nation should not do that which is momentarily expedient. The nations in the League, free from any principles of a fixed nature relative to right and wrong, did that very thing, with tragic results for the League.

Loyola University

PAUL KINIERY

Christopher Columbus: Being the Life of the Very Magnificent Lord Don Cristóbal Colón. By Salvador de Madariaga. Macmillan, New York, 1940. Pp. 524.

This well-written and very interesting volume from the pen of Salvador de Madariaga, the author of a number of semi-popular works in the fields of literary criticism, political theory, and philosophy, adds no new facts to our slender store of information about the Very Magnificent Lord Don Cristóbal Colón.

Madariaga has attacked the problem in a most novel way. In short, the Great Discoverer serves as but the central theme around which Madariaga gratuitously presents, with fiery eloquence and poetic imagination, embellished with a wealth of interesting facts (all of them important if considered in true perspective), a "new" interpretation of Spanish civilization. The interpretation of the author is that the only dynamic and creative agency in Spanish civilization, otherwise static, were the Arabs, the Jews, and the *Conversos* (Christianized Jews)—a distorted footnote to Amador de los Ríos' *Historia social, política, y religiosa de los Judíos de España y Portugal*. Even cooking in oil, now characteristic of Spanish cooking, was borrowed from the Jews! (p. 130). The poor olive tree of the Mediterranean world is given no credit whatever.

Madariaga begins by properly inoculating the reader. He begins this by placing on the title page the Spanish saying: "Truth marries no one." Then: "... the ... history of Colón is ... complicated by those religious and historical prejudices which seem to have smothered the history of Spain with their rank overgrowth to an even worse extent than that of any other nation. Protestant, Catholic, Jew, reactionary and revolutionary prepossessions have flourished on this fertile historical soil—the discovery of America—until the mere statement of simple, plain facts sounds like unheard of hearsay or wild lucubration" (p. 31). Had Madariaga been more cautious he might have placed on the title page Sancho Panza's advice: "Between two millstones never put your thumbs."

A misleading device used by the author is the weighing of both generally accepted and long discredited rival interpretations of controversial phases of Columbus' life as though they were all of equal merit, without giving the unwary average reader the slightest indication as to the true relative value of the particular interpretations under discussion, the author finally appearing to arrive at an "original" conclusion. By combining outward manifestations with an analysis of Columbus' subconscious mind, Madariaga concludes that the Great Discoverer was of a Spanish-Jewish family that moved to Genoa sometime in the fourteenth century, etc., "despite what erudite, though rash, scholars may have thought" (p. 41).

With regard to Columbus' language, the author writes: "... the

Colombo family were Spanish Jews settled in Genoa, who following the traditions of their race, had remained faithful to the language of their country of origin" (p. 53). This sentence is footnoted by the sentence: "I am indebted for advice and suggestions on this point to the following gentlemen: President Morgenstern and Professor Marcus, of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio; Mr. Leon Huhner, of New York; Dr. Cecil Roth, of London; and Professor W. J. Martin, of Liverpool" (pp. 434-435). Then: "Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal has kindly sent me his MS. of a note which he prepared at my request on this point of Colón's language. It is, as was to be expected of the chief Spanish philological authority, a masterly study of Colón's language. But I am afraid I cannot accept the conclusions which the eminent philologist carries over from his special to the general field [preempted by Madariaga?]. His points against the Jewish hypothesis seem to me lacking in force" (p. 435).

Madariaga's book, presenting Columbus as a lonely, misunderstood, idealistic, brilliant Jewish refugee, appears to have been specially written to fit the mold of the vicissitudes of the Western World of the late 1930's.

J. MANUEL ESPINOSA

St. Louis University

Sir William Blackstone. By David A. Lockmiller, L. L. B., Ph. D. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1938. Pp. xviii, 308.

In his book, the author has attempted to bring to life the man whose name usually calls to mind nothing more than the fantasm of a four-volume commentary on English Common Law.

One hundred and thirty-two pages of the text and two appendices which contain eight pages of verse written by Blackstone do supply the reader with some of Blackstone's life history. However, one is a little disappointed to find that his childhood from birth in 1723 to 1739 when he went to the university is described in not more than six pages. A paragraph taken from "general accounts of social life at English universities" covers his college days while what he did as a law student is based on the "requirements that a student must meet to be admitted to the English bar." It is only when Blackstone becomes an official at All-Souls College at the age of twenty-one that he begins to emerge as a being of flesh and blood. Even then, many of his activities are mentioned without any satisfactory treatment. For example, one is left wondering how he saved the Clarendon Press from a "deplorable condition"? How he taught class? How he lived at Oxford?

Chapters six and seven dealing with Blackstone as a squire at Wallingford and as a member of Parliament are the first which really take the reader behind the scenes of formalities and tell him about

the man. As for the rest, one cannot help but feel that despite himself, the author has written largely of Blackstone as a background for the treatise in chapter nine on his *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, and chapter ten, the last in the book, which deals with "Blackstone in America." These are, by all odds, the best part of the work, but leave the impression of Blackstone as a book, not as a man.

The keen interpretation of the author with regard to the part played by the *commentaries* in forming the colonial mind with regard to the independence and the Constitution of the United States (pp. 170-174) is a contribution to our constitutional history. Mr. Lock-miller's own views on the basis of law as derived from the will of the majority (p. 175) supply an explanation for his enthusiasm with regard to the great commentator on common law.

Appendices other than those mentioned above have some source material. There is an exhaustive index, and an attractive format, both contributing to the facility with which the book will be read.

R. N. HAMILTON

Marquette University

Beacon on the Plains. By Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald, S. C. L., Ph. D. The St. Mary College, Leavenworth, Kansas, 1939. Pp. 297. Maps and Illustrations.

Every day it becomes more patent that the gospel according to Turner does not tell the whole story of the making of the West. That the lure of free land was a powerful factor in creating the phenomenon in American history known as the advancing frontier may not be gainsaid; that it was so powerful a factor in this direction that the whole of American history may be written around it must be denied. It is impossible that so complex, so many-sided, so far-reaching an historical outcome as the rise and growth of the American nation should be explained in economic terms alone. No doubt economic forces contributed to the result and enormously so; but non-economic, religious, spiritual forces were also powerfully at work. The book under review brings out the very significant fact that in the state of the Union which furnishes it a theme, ministers of the Gospel and educators were on the ground with their uplifting influences before the adventurers, the settlers, the farmers put in their appearance. Kansas was a field of operations for the soldiers of the Cross before the seekers of free land had found it out.

Beacon on the Plains tells the story of the Catholic Osage Mission set up by Jesuit missionaries in 1847 on the banks of the Neosho. The institution was meant primarily to serve the religious and educational needs of the Osage Indians; in its development it served also the religious needs of the Catholic whites who in frontier days found homes in southern Kansas from its eastern to its western lines. To

Indians and whites alike the mission proved a recognized center of light and leading; the record of its activities is an integral part of the cultural history of Kansas.

This volume has not been fashioned out of second-hand and easily accessible materials. It is the product of thoroughgoing and original research in the primary sources of its subject. The impressive bibliographical note (pp. 266-297), indicates to the reader the extent of the investigations carried on by the author in libraries and archives in order to lay the necessary documentary basis for her work. Manuscript materials were gathered in ten different centers, including places as far apart as Topeka, St. Louis, Chicago, and Washington, D. C. Of particular importance for the author's purpose were the Father Ponziglione papers at St. Louis and the files of the Indian Office in the national capital.

Out of the wealth of authentic source-materials which Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald thus contrived to bring together has been woven a fascinating and revealing chapter in the religious and cultural history of the West. Readableness of narrative and accuracy of statement is not an easy combination to make in written history. In this book the combination has been made. No satisfaction in the reading of history is comparable to the satisfaction one feels in being conscious of getting the facts. The Sister's prime concern as evidenced by the careful documentation on every page of her work is to tell the story of the Osage Mission as it actually occurred. This she has succeeded in doing, thereby making a valuable contribution to the history of the frontier.

Only one inaccuracy has come under the reviewer's notice. No record appears to be on hand of any visit paid by Father Van Quickenborne to the Osage Indians in 1829 (p. 31, n. 2).

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN

Loyola University

The Era of the American Revolution. Studies Inscribed to Evarts Boutell Greene. Edited by Richard B. Morris. Columbia University Press, New York, 1939.

This volume of essays was contributed by grateful students to one who guided them along the hard road to learning. Dr. Evarts Boutell Greene thus honored retired recently from active teaching after forty-eight years of service, three at Harvard, twenty-nine at the University of Illinois, and sixteen at Columbia. His scholarship, his ability as teacher and writer, his standing in the history fraternity are too well-known to call for comment. Many of those who heard the address "Persistent Problems of Church and State" which he delivered upon retiring from the presidency of the American Historical Association still regard it as the ideal presidential effort.

In length, and method of treatment, the eleven essays found in this

volume vary greatly. Indeed the disparity is so striking that it gives rise to the suspicion that the editor would have acted wisely in omitting one or two contributions. Apart from this limitation however the essays are entertaining and informative. We limit our comment to three of special interest and merit.

Why was it, asks Dr. O. M. Dickerson, that while the use of writs of assistance was practically limited to Massachusetts opposition to these writs was so general that judges from Connecticut to Florida, South Carolina alone excepted, and irrespective of political creeds, could not be induced to declare them legal? Moreover, at the first opportunity Americans ruled out such writs by the fourth amendment to the Constitution. This resolute opposition, he argues, could not have been due to Otis' famous speech for it was unknown to the majority of his contemporaries. As it was the form of the writ and not the writ itself that Otis attacked, so it was the form that the judges opposed. Warrants, specific as to name and place, the judges issued readily enough, but in general search warrants they discerned tyranny at its worst.

In "Labor and Mercantilism" Dr. Richard Morris informs us that by the revolutionary period laissez faire views were gaining ground, and yet economic regulation was a vital factor in colonial life. This found expression in licenses to certain quasi-public officials and the fixing of their wages, in the regulation of the price of necessities and public services, in prohibitions of monopolies and forestalling, and in the enforcement of a definite poor policy. In the main the Continental Congress disapproved of price regulation with the result that no program on a national scale could be introduced, but states and towns made and enforced local ordinances in regard to prices, profiteering, and specie. Congress, however, did legislate to compel the circulation of paper money and to prohibit monopolies.

By virtue of editing the correspondence of General Gage, Dr. Clarence E. Carter is eminently qualified to discuss the role played by the creation of the office of commander-in-chief of the British forces in America in precipitating the American Revolution. Justification for the office he finds in the many new administrative problems created by the Peace of Paris, particularly the administration of the extensive territory acquired in the West. The need for just such an official to administer justice and supervise the Indian trade was assumed by the British, intent as they were at last on the enforcement of law; besides, they saw no other solution for effecting unity within the empire and maintaining an adequate defense. But an army, independent of colonial governments, was a novelty, an unconstitutional thing in the mind of colonial officials. Above all the sending of regulars to Boston, despite the known opposition of the provincial council, was certain to lead to incidents and give rise to conflicts between civil and military officers. The climax of ill-considered decisions was reached in 1774 when Gen-

eral Gage was commissioned governor of Massachusetts. This was an open affront, and coming as it did on the heels of the "Intolerable Acts" it was bound to be resisted by a liberty loving people. Such open disregard of cherished rights prepared minds for rebellion and the asserting of their independence.

CHARLES H. METZGER

West Baden College

What Germany Forgot. By James T. Shotwell. Macmillan Company, New York, 1940. Pp. 152.

The reader of this all-too-brief work is highly rewarded with fresh points of view, concisely and arrestingly presented, on the economic consequences of the World War. The author's complete understanding of this difficult subject is abundantly evident through the pages of the book, which is one that ought to stimulate and guide all students of recent political and economic history. *What Germany Forgot* is in part a summary of certain of the findings of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which under Dr. Shotwell's direction and editorship, has published 150 volumes with the general title of *Economic and Social History of the World War*.

The author's forcefully and insistently expressed theme is that it was not the drastic provisions of the Treaty of Versailles which ruined Germany, as is commonly accepted, but rather the terrific costs of the World War itself. Prior to 1914 it had been thought that economic recovery came almost immediately following the close of any war. Dr. Shotwell shows how the stupendous costs of present-day warfare continue to dominate the economic position of a nation for decades after peace has returned, and he blames war costs for the severity and duration of the world-wide depression which began in 1929.

Militarism, which even in Germany was in disrepute in the first years following the Armistice, revived in that country in the 1920's because the sometimes unwise post-war policies of the Allies and other factors enabled the militarists to convert the Treaty of Versailles into the most successful source of propaganda in history. Eventually most persons outside the non-Germanic European nations came to believe that the Treaty was deliberately devised so as to throttle forever the German people. The author, thoroughly objective and impartial in all his considerations, declares with evidence that the guiding minds at the Peace Conference were not motivated by vindictive impulses, as often charged, and he asserts (without attempting any defense of the Treaty) that the only "unendurable servitudes" were to be found in those sections of the Treaty dealing with Reparations and the Polish settlement.

This revival of the militaristic spirit led Germany to forget that it was the waging of war and not the vindictiveness of her conquerors

which brought the economic sufferings since endured, even though the post-war policies of the Allies were at times ill-advised and of a nature to foster a persecution complex among Germans. Another thing Germany has chosen to forget is that the last war disproved her former fallacious belief that the victor of any war would not suffer economically, as the winner could demand spoils sufficient to pay the cost of the war. It appears to be the author's firm conviction that the refusal of the United States to enter the League of Nations ruined the only possible chance of making the Treaty ultimately just.

WALTER M. LANGFORD

University of Notre Dame